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## Near East/South Asia Report

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EGYPT

## MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD PROSPECTS, SUCCESSION EXPLORED

Interview with Salah Shadi

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic 2 May 86 pp 16-19

[Interview with Salah Shadi by 'Amr 'Abd-al-Sami: "I Want a Party. The Brotherhood Did Not Leave The Wafd and Did Not Join The Liberal Party"; in Cairo, date not specified]

[Text] The Muslim Brotherhood's political future, four words that called for a long interview with one of the pre-eminent Brotherhood leaders. Notwithstanding the secrecy imposed by the circumstances surrounding the dissolution of the Muslim Brotherhood whose members are disposed toward silence, and despite the uneasy anticipation of news about al-Talmasani's state of health, God grant him a long life as a moderate leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, and despite the general and sometimes in-flux formulations of Brotherhood ideology and positions, Salah Shadi's interview touched on some extremely important issues and succeeded in unveiling some key brotherhood visions of the future.

[Question] Many factors compel us to review with you the political future of the Muslim Brotherhood. The most important factor, perhaps, is the health of Brotherhood supreme guide, Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani, that prompts us to ask:

"What after al-Talmasani?"

[Answer] As far as calls are concerned, persons do not make a difference so long as values are unshaken. There will not be a new phase after al-Talmasani because this period of time cannot be described as a "new phase," except on the basis of ideological, behavioral, or procedural change.

There is no modern characteristic for the Brotherhood save for the youth groups that have responded to and believed in its ideology, even if these groups include factions that have deviated from the Brotherhood's principal ideology, acquiring their own violence-tinted style. All this is due to superficial matters which can be avoided were it not for the government's practice of a "tug of war" with the youth.

[Question] But we have been unable to come up with a reason or a plausible justification for the violence the rising generation of young Islamic leaders has adopted as a concept, a technique and a practice in the scattered events Egypt has witnessed recently.

[Answer] The presence of some kind of deviation from a sound concept does not compel us to reject the sound concept itself. I attribute such deviation to pressures being exerted on the youth. I saw this in prison. Successive pressures have convinced them that ours is an infidel society, thus submitting to a state of perpetual skepticism about society and its leaders.

[Question] Is this an apology and a justification for violence?

[Answer] No, it is only an explanation of the reason. These people got out of prison, but did not find anyone to touch their heart and to assure them that the prison tormentors do not represent society. Indeed, no one has been put on trial for such crimes. We must not look at the symptoms of deviation but rather at its causes.

[Question] What you call "deviation" or "deviant" faction, what percentage of the Islamic current does it represent?

[Answer] A very small percentage. The Muslim Brotherhood has achieved great success in guiding some of the youth. What I want to say is that although this faction represents a small percentage, it makes a lot of noise.

[Question] Does that mean that events in Minya, Asyut, or Cairo University are generated by a very small percentage?

[Answer] Yes, this does not go beyond the faction that was interrogated in the early eighties using the same old oppressive and coercive techniques. Even the methods of persuasion and education were greatly irrational and lacking in vision.

[Questions] Like what?

[Answer] Like the lessons they tried to teach them in prison based on the concept of supreme authority without using a sound psychological method.

[Question] What is this sound psychological method?

[Answer] It is what Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani did when the authorities asked him to lecture fundamentalist youths in prison. He told them that much of what they had to say was sensible and judicious. He also said that the mistakes blamed on them could be blamed as well on those who were confronting them (the government). This kind of language can win the hearts of youth, fundamentalists and non-fundamentalists alike. However, Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani was unable to continue his lectures. The agreement was for three lectures, but he only gave the first which turned out to be the last.

Hence, not only was the Muslim Brotherhood deprived of the freedom of expression in the sense of a "newspaper," or the freedom of movement in the

sense of having a "party," but was also deprived of fulfilling its proper role in guiding the young members of these groups.

[Question] Is it possible to allow you to form a religious party without granting other religions the same right which can lead to religious polarization?

[Answer] Creating our own party cannot lead to religious polarization because Islam is incompatible with such a notion. Islam is not an alien thought, but rather a way of life. It embraces all religious sects that believe in God as the One and Only.

Islam recognizes Jesus Christ as a prophet and it has embraced Christianity. Islam is not on equal footing with Christianity.

[Question] How can you tell the Copts of Egypt that their religion is not on equal footing with Islam?

[Answer] This is the way it is. Islam treats the Copts the way it treats the Muslims. This is the nature of Islam. Our expression of this fact does not open the doors to sedition, but rather closes them.

[Question] Do the Copts of Egypt have the right to demand their own party if you form your own party?

[Answer] If the Copts can submit to us a program based on their religion, there is no reason why they cannot have their own party.

[Question] Don't you think that development in Egyptian political practice, which has attained a kind of multilateralism, can accept a kind of secular authority augmented by the possible emergence of these religious parties?

[Answer] The matter of secular authority is not known in Islam. It emerged in Europe. We do not have a clergy. The day we have a clergy is the day we deviate from the concept of Islam.

Moreover, why do we grant freedom to every Tom, Dick, and Harry of political tendencies? But when the Islamic tendency asks for it, its request is denied. Is this Islam?

[Question] I do not think that a productive dialogue can be generated between you and the fundamentalist factions because they see you as "compromisers" and as doves of a current for which they have forcefully installed themselves as its hawks.

[Answer] The whole thing depends on the logic of persuasion. The way they received Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani and his talk and logic was perfect. What governs reaction is logic itself. But to refuse totally to admit before them that the government has erred is a sure way of alienating them. If we ask them about the reason for the antipathy between them and government agencies, we must be ready to embrace what they have to say first and confront them afterward, especially if what they have to say is related to what government



agencies have done to them. Those, dear sir, are a group of young people with weak understanding who need flexibility, wisdom and composure in talking with them.

[Question] As of 1931, Egypt's prisons and meeting halls have witnessed a whole array of dialogues using the kind of flexibility, wisdom and composure you want. Why the violence now?

[Answer] In any case, if we were to concede the presence of violence in the attitude of these young people, we must not necessarily attribute it to any kind of isolation from society, but rather to the passion of youth. We all go through this phase at first.

[Question] But in your book, "PAGES FROM HISTORY" you hallmarked violence. The tale of "al-Sanadi" and "Shaykh al-Banna" is proof of that. Furthermore, you explained that you adopted violence at the time in order to stand up to the British. This is totally different from what you described now as "the passion of youth."

[Answer] The answer to this is simple if we perceive fundamentalism in understanding. Not long ago, we were confronting the British hand-to-hand or face-to-face. Today, we are facing enemies that accede to the wishes of America and Great Britain. It is not a matter of finding the cause, but rather that of possibilities that may occur to young people.

[Question] Describing the matter in such terms is a kind of odd embellishment. Can you go over this description once again?

[Answer] The influencing forces that move in the Middle East harbor traditional enmity towards the Islamic concept. They do not accept Islam as a political system, and they attack this concept any way they can. These forces have their own power and their own collaborators who are used in the war against the upholders of the Islamic concept.

[Question] How is this war represented?

[Answer] In the least, we are not recognized as a group. This is incompatible with the nature of freedom granted to any class of people who call for a sound ideology. We do not have the right to have our own newspapers. Therefore, the freedom of expression and political movement does not exist for us.

We have seen rulers come and go, some of whom used to admit to the influence outside forces had over them by saying, for instance, "This is what the British want and we are unable to stand up to them. Therefore, let Hasan al-Banna withdraw his candidacy."

Young people, when exposed to such ideas, stances and events, react in different ways, some of which are based on "awareness" and others on "conceptions." These young people need to know exactly where things that touch their religion stand: whether they represent a mistake, a sin, an injustice, or infidelity.

The law of Islam has something to say about such things. Not all those who oppose Islam are infidels, but those who oppose certain things in Islam are infidels. This is what is truly lacking in youth: a sensible attitude by which to pass proper judgment based on awareness rather than conception.

[Question] Therefore, this sensible attitude in facing and analyzing the course of events is absent. But the question is why the violence now when, for 5 years now, the road has been leading to dialogue?

[Answer] I cannot say that we have enjoyed freedom of expression and freedom of movement since we have been out of prison!

[Question] This tremendous amount of published books and the tremendous number of interviews and statements to Arab, foreign and local opposition newspapers do not represent a practice of freedom of expression in its broadest sense?

[Answer] It is not total freedom. Freedom is what must regulate conduct, calls and meaningful speech, be it daily, weekly, or monthly. This is what is lacking and what has triggered a vehement war that has no logic. I cannot express political opinion and if I wish to do so, I must have a party and the party has to have a newspaper.

[Question] This party you are demanding, is it for the Islamic current in general or for the Muslim Brotherhood alone?

[Answer] We must distinguish between the Brotherhood and other groups. The role of this group is to deal with fundamentalist ideology and with the young people who have adopted this ideology. The Brotherhood's Islamic ideology has drawn a large number of them. What is important, however, is the quality, not the quantity because the "Brotherhood's" quality is more important than the other groups' "quantity."

The religiously-educated youth lack an important thing which is the "past" and the Brotherhood can be their past.

[Question] Why does this "quantity" not exercise now some kind of control over the fundamentalist violence governing the conduct of those factions of the Islamic current?

[Answer] We are forbidden to talk about the Brotherhood's ideology. Otherwise, we would be accused of reviving a disbanded group, and the penalty for this charge is 3 years in prison. If crime is to be prevented, freedom must be granted. Those who are denied freedom follow the road of crime. In 'Umar's time, some calls and ideas incompatible with the nature of Islam emerged, so he told his people to discuss their ideas in the mosque, thus preventing the spread of dens and corners where such ideas could have lived and taken root. If we had a "party," the Brotherhood's "quality" would restrain the groups' "quantity."



[Question] Then the future of the Brotherhood will be focused on the creation of a party?

[Answer] Naturally.

[Question] What road will you follow?

[Answer] The legal road.

[Question] Does that mean that you will follow the guidelines set by the parties' committee?

[Answer] Of course.

[Question] Does that mean approval of Camp David and rejection of the idea of religious parties?

[Answer] We have submitted a program to some sensible people for study. However, it has not yet been sent to the parties' committee.

[Question] Do these "sensible" people include elements from other domestic political forces?

[Answer] We did not include any of the other domestic political forces in this affair.

[Question] Do you believe that this program is in keeping with the conditions of the parties' committee?

[Answer] I do not know whether the parties' committee will or will not approve it, especially if it placed all its conditions as an obstacle in the way of establishing the party.

[Question] Legally and constitutionally, these conditions of the parties' committee have been approved by the people through a referendum whose results govern the emergence of any party in Egypt. The new parties have accepted these conditions while preserving for themselves a margin of opposition that can shrink or expand according to circumstances. Can you "play it" right?

[Answer] I do not know if we can play it right or play it at any level, for we are not the "game-playing type."

[Question] But the tactical alliance with the Wafd was a "high-rolling" game.

[Answer] Not at all. It was an extremely sincere alliance. From the outset, each side knew that the Brotherhood members were not Wafdists and that the Wafdists would not become Brotherhood members.

[Question] How can it be an "above-board" alliance when you contradict yourself by accepting a compromise with a secular party?

[Answer] It was never declared a secular party! Its clear and patent statements called for a rule by Islam and the Shari'ah. The Brotherhood was the popular base of the Wafd and the Wafd represented a political window for the Brotherhood. Both sides benefitted.

[Question] Why the disagreement?

[Answer] No one said that we have had a disagreement.

[Question] What about those who went to the Liberal Party?

[Answer] No Brotherhood members have joined the Liberal Party or the al-Ummah Party. The group that has joined the Wafd will stay there.

[Question] Can this be considered a kind of political tactic, being spread out in more than one party?

[Answer] The Brotherhood's mission is to introduce itself to all groups. We gain more than we lose from our presence in these parties [one line obliterated]d.

[Question] Will the groups that represent the Islamic current be satisfied with being incorporated into one party with a so-called maximum-minimum program?

[Answer] If we can begin to pursue actually our action, the possibilities will become evident. But how can you ask me to look into the future when I am forbidden to shake hands with anyone?

[Question] You have oversimplified the matter. I am asking about the points of agreement among you.

[Answer] The points are Islam! If we let Islam be the judge, the points of agreement will be considerable. The future of the Brotherhood is made manifest by their method and past course, be it with regard to these groups, of which you speak, or people as a whole. We have great hope in the future.

[Question] Hope must be the product of capability. Do you have the capability of containing and bringing these groups together in a political entity led by you?

[Answer] This is our principal role, not only with regard to the Islamic groups, but also to the parties that are present in the arena (the Liberal Party, al-Ummah Party, the Wafd Party). Our job is to polarize all the people within our movement's framework.

[Question] We live in a society that has a kind of multilateralism. If the Brotherhood forms a party, it will be created in compliance with this society's laws. What you are proposing now regarding the inclusion of all Islamic factions and all the other parties, and thereafter the entire nation under the Brotherhood's cloak, is considered a kind of political monism in its absolute sense.

[Answer] There is not one party or group or individual that can claim to be against virtue. However, the way of attaining this goal is different and herein lies multilateralism.

[Question] The matter of virtue is very nice and no party will oppose you on it. But allow me to say that these general values are relative. What you regard as virtue I may not regard as such.

[Answer] There is no difference in God's law. The lawful is obvious and the forbidden is obvious and between them lies the allegories. We will not disagree then. I as a party, may do what is permissible or I may choose not to do it and other parties may do it, at which time I will acknowledge their action. The difference does not reach the point of confusing the lawful with the forbidden.

[Question] This may be so with regard to general matters, but when it comes to specifics, the matter is open to interpretation, even with respect to the way Islam views the same thing. Who renders judgment in this case?

[Answer] It is not my job to twist the parties' arms, but rather to open the way for them and for the nation. People choose what is best.

[Question] Why are you the ones who are opening the door? Does this not represent a kind of religious hegemony over political parties?

[Answer] Why do you use the word "hegemony?" Religion includes many permissible actions and it is within the scope of such actions that we all operate.

[Question] Did you not consider, while seeking a party, that the Islamic current's hawks, by joining your party, may succeed in imposing specific stances on some issues that may not be acceptable to your doves?

[Answer] Islam is a party that rejects alien and radical ideas. You perceive the matter as a ruling rather than a ruled party. I am governed by the Shari'ah and not the other way around.

[Question] The fundamentalists say that their point of view represents the Shari'ah as well. What governs your point of view, the Shari'ah or the "parallel Shari'ah?"

[Answer] You imagine that intransigence can rule. I say that Islam is a centrist religion. It is neither intransigent nor lax. We accept the notion that centrism will prevail.

[Question] If we apply this perception of centrism to an issue being raised at Cairo University about the veil, do you believe that Islamic "centrism" has prevailed in this case?

[Answer] Had this issue been debated in a free atmosphere, there would not have been any difficulties. And if women are given the freedom to wear the

veil as they are given the freedom to wear a bikini, this uproar would disappear.

[Question] But wearing the veil, besides being unlawful in the eyes of many, interferes with the university's efforts to maintain order. If a female student enters the examination room wearing a veil, how can the supervisors tell if she is the right person in the right seat or the one whose picture is on the ID card she presents to the supervisor?

[Answer] In this case, the university must adopt rules that can maintain order. Veiled students must be told that their veil prevents the university from doing its job and this interferes with the conduct of collegiate business. Either they enter the university without a veil or they do not enter at all. It is a matter of personal freedom, pure and simple.

[Boxed Inset on p 16]

"Who Is Salah Shadi?"

[Text] Salah Shadi is a former police officer. He met Hasan al-Banna when he was a lieutenant at a al-Buhayrah policy station, thereafter staying by his side.

Salah Shadi was the Muslim Brotherhood's spearhead in the police while Mahmud Labib was his counterpart in the army.

In his book of sources [kitab al-masadir], "PAGES FROM HISTORY," he alludes to the expanded role of the Brotherhood's special apparatus to a point where apparatus director, 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sandi, censored Hasan al-Banna and threw him out of his house in Bulaq.

About this incident, the author says: "The impression this confrontation left in my mind was that 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sandi was talking to Hasan al-Banna as though they were equal and not as a branch chief talking to the supreme guide."

In his book, Salah Shadi related the story of how the supreme guide was selected right after Hasan al-Banna's assassination. He explained that when the candidates got into a disagreement, another new candidate, al-Hudaybi, was brought into the race.

I asked Salah Shadi Sunday noon if the same thing could be repeated. He said that he had read and heard about some tendencies to nominate him for the supreme guide's position and others that are tending toward Mustafa Mashhur. He said he could not be certain about such matters. He emphasized, however, that he will not declare his candidacy personally, but if others were to nominate him, the picture would change and the constituent body would make the decision in due time.



Leadership After al-Talmasani

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic 2 May 86 p 17

[Article: Who Will Lead the Brotherhood After al-Talmasani?"]

[Text] What will happen after Shaykh 'Umar al-Talmasani's death, God forbid? Who will lead the brotherhood and what are the options at present? What are the dimensions of the struggles that ensued the critical moments in Shaykh al-Talmasani's state of health? Will his improved condition put a stop to these struggles?

At first, it can be said that the Muslim Brotherhood movement, like any other political organization, has experienced numerous splits and fierce struggles among its key leaders at close intervals throughout its 58 years of existence which began in March 1928.

Watchers of the Brotherhood's organizations chart realize that the issue of succession has been the greatest cause of such disputes. When Hasan al-Banna moved from Ismailia to Cairo in 1932, dissention spread in the membership ranks in the city, and the Brotherhood experienced the beginnings of fierce struggles between those who adhered to the imam's views and orders and those who felt that the matter should be taken out of this framework so as to deal on a clear democratic basis, be it in the selection of leaders or in discussing opinions and instructions. The split did not stop at resignation and organizational disintegration, but rather reached the point of levelling specific charges against the supreme guide Hasan al-Banna, questioning his fiscal honesty and integrity. The second time, there was a fierce struggle over al-Banna's successor after his death. At that time, power was supposed to be transferred to Salih Ishmawi as Shaykh al-Banna's deputy and closest associate. The general belief at the time was that the transfer of power would occur in a normal fashion, but circumstances and developments brought in someone else as the Brotherhood's supreme guide. Those who understand the Muslim Brotherhood's strategy and tactical positions are readily aware of the existence of a broad base in the Brotherhood that opposes struggles under any circumstances and rejects the logic of stiff competition which can only lead, in their view, to more fragmentation and rupture. A case in point is the death of Hasan al-Banna which prompted many elements to run against al-Ishmawi. There was 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Banna, Hasan al-Banna's brother; 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Abdin, secretary general; Ahmad Hasan al-Baquri, guidance office member, and others. However, the broad base was pushing in another direction and al-Hudaybi was elected general guide to replace al-Banna as Brotherhood leader. Although he was not the most outstanding candidate or the most loyal to the Brotherhood's ideology and al-Banna's course, many considerations related to the group's interest compelled the majority of the guidance office to elect him.

In short, watchers of the Brotherhood's course will not be surprised if the Brotherhood comes up with a relatively unknown person in the event of al-Talmasani's death, God forbid.

## Emergency Meeting

As soon as news came out about Shaykh 'Umar al-Talmasani's critical condition and his transfer to intensive care, all Brotherhood cadres began thinking about what would happen after his death. What would they do? Who will take over after him? Will his death lead to new struggles that had healed somewhat and to severe differences that had been set aside for awhile?

Hence, it was natural that Brotherhood leaders should call an emergency meeting which they convened late last week. The key question on the agenda was, "what then?" At first, Brotherhood leaders had submitted an urgent request to the interior ministry asking permission to hold a meeting of the Brotherhood's general assembly to look into the matter of selecting a general guide and a guidance office. However, the ministry turned down this request on the premise that the Brotherhood is illegal and therefore it does not have the right to hold any organizational or general meeting, hence the limited meeting attended by Brotherhood leaders, including Salah Shadi, Dr Ahmad al-Malat, Mustafa Mashhur, Muzin 'Abd-al-Khaliq, Dr Ahmad al-Zi'farani and others. A heated debate took place and it was said that it was agreed to set another date for discussing ways to select a supreme guide and a guidance office after al-Talmasani's death. This, however, did not preclude a frank discussion of the entire subject whereby specific names were proposed and discussed.

It is common knowledge that a struggle exists between two main blocs within the Brotherhood: one is led by Mustafa Mashhur who has been nominated by Fariq 'Abd-al-Khaliq, Muhammad al-Zi'farani and Dr Ahmad al-Malat to take over the Brotherhood leadership; and the other is under the leadership of Salah Shadi, Salih Abu Raqiq and Muhammad Hamid Abu-al-Nasr and nominates Salah Shadi to be general guide.

The first side, led by Mustafa Mashhur, believes that Mashhur is the natural heir of Shaykh 'Umar al-Talmasani. This current has influential men who will back Mustafa Mashhur.

Furthermore, al-Hudaybi's group, headed by Ma'mun al-Hudaybi and the Sayyid Qutb group, stand by Salah Shadi who is trying to play both sides against the middle, according to some people.

Then there is the Brotherhood group abroad which represents a huge faction, including Shaykh Yusuf al-Qardawi, Shaykh Sayyid Sabiq and Shaykh 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Banna and their groups. All those may agree among themselves on nominating their own candidate. But if they are to take sides, most likely they will side with Mustafa Mashhur who is known for intransigence. At one point, he left the country in protest to the opposition's course of flexibility toward the government.

Salah Shadi has initiated his contacts as well, on the basis that Imam Hasan al-Banna had nominated him as chief of the Brotherhood's covert department.

He was the one who had nominated al-Sanadi to head the covert department, but soon quarreled with him during the well-known Shubra incident. This was resolved by expelling both men from the department, appointing Yusuf Tal'at to this position with a view to ending the struggle between the two forces.

Finally, we come to Ahmad Sayfulislam Hasan al-Banna, son of Imam Hasan al-Banna who has not yet come to a final decision even though he is preparing himself for a leading position within the movement as a preliminary step toward a greater role in the future. He has not yet defined his final position.

At any rate, Shaykh 'Umar al-Talmasani' improved health has put a temporary stop to this open debate, but this does not preclude the continuation of secret contacts with followers and supporters.

#### Sayfaldin's Comments

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic 2 May 86 p 17

[Article: "We Do Not Know What Will Happen After al-Talmasani"]

[Text] Sayfalislam Hasan al-Banna told AL-MUSAWWAR that he did not know what would happen after al-Talmasani and who would be his successor. This matter, however, is assigned to certain members of the constituent body. He added that no blocs of any kind were formed in Brotherhood ranks following the news of al-Talmasani's failing health which has recently improved.

About his perception of the issue of violence, he said there is always a fine line between holy war and violence. However, this line must be clearly defined and this requires a tightening up of standards and criteria as well as good management. He added that, in the absence of the sound moderate line represented by his father's ideology, the Islamic groups sprung up because they did not find a mature picture. He said he supported ideological unification whereby everyone would follow the same course, adding that these groups lack the advantage of providing sound Islamic upbringing to upcoming generation, something the Brotherhood has been doing. Hence, they will always suffer from ideological alienation and conflicts because they have not nurtured a genuine fraternal spirit among themselves.

About his view of Islamic groups' conduct inside the universities, Sayfalislam Islam says it behooves the government to establish separate universities for males and females, in addition to co-educational ones for those who wish to attend them.

#### Shadi on Guidance Office

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic 2 May 86 p 18

[Article: "What Is Happening in the Guidance Office?"]



[Text] [Question] Emotions and sentiments aside, it is natural to have a controversy in the Brotherhood's guidance office over the features of a new phase and the selection of a supreme guide to succeed al-Talmasani. What is happening now?

[Answer] It is natural that such a thing should happen and it is natural for the Brotherhood to unite behind one man.

[Question] One man or a collective leadership?

[Answer] Any kind of leadership. It may be one man or 5 or 12 persons.

[Question] What is the prevailing tendency at present?

[Answer] The Brotherhood's constituent body system underscores group leadership whereby the guidance office assumes leadership duties with the general guide based on the binding council principle. The general guide candidate is nominated from within the constituent body.

[Question] Are their meetings legal?

[Answer] How can they be legal when the Brotherhood itself is illegal?

[Question] When will the Brotherhood's collective leadership be announced? Can this happen while al-Talmasani is alive?

[Answer] We ask God to prolong al-Talmasani's life and not to fail us in this regard. As for the leadership, it will be announced when the Brotherhood attains its legal status.

[Question] Does this mean that the supreme guide will exercise his powers alone or with a secretly-selected group?

[Answer] No, but we will try to adapt the situation to the Brotherhood's circumstances. Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani spoke in his capacity as the general guide of the Brotherhood even though it is outlawed. His personality and the circumstances surrounding the group prescribed such a situation, but now things have changed. I cannot say that anyone can openly declare himself as his successor. Herein lies the real dilemma.

[Question] Has the constituent body met to discuss this matter?

[Answer] No, it has not.

[Question] Have there been consultations between you and other sides about this matter?

[Answer] Yes. Different tendencies are in the process of exchanging views through constant consultations over this matter. This subject is being discussed as well by various groups belonging to the constituent body and the guidance office, but no final decision has been reached.

[Question] Has your name been suggested as al-Talmasani's successor?

[Answer] I do not know. One of the tendencies may have done so.

[Question] If you are nominated for the supreme guide's position, what will your stand be?

[Answer] I cannot be specific about something that is still in the unknown because this would be a sport of speculation not based on solid grounds.

#### Supreme Guide Candidate Interviewed

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic 16 May 86 pp 12-14

[Interview with Muhammad Kamal 'Abd-al-'Aziz by Mustafa Bakri: "Brotherhood Supreme Guide Candidate: 'There Are Several Opportunities for Meeting Current Regime in Climate of Freedom and Purity'"; in Cairo, date not specified]

[Text] I nominate Mr Muhammad Kamal 'Abd-al-'Aziz to the Brotherhood's supreme guide position in the event of al-Talmasani's death, declared Brotherhood leader Salih Abu Raziq to AL-MUSAWWAR last week.

The candidate, backed by Salih Abu Raziq, is a former judge who is practicing law presently. He participated in the Muslim Brotherhood movement in the forties, but this connection, as he put it, was broken from the organizational standpoint when the dissolution was issued in 1948 and upon joining the judiciary.

AL-MUSAWWAR is publishing this interview which he gave in his personal capacity and not as a Brotherhood representative because the matter is still a subject of debate in Brotherhood ranks.

So far, no final decision has been made. There are several candidates for this position, including Muhammad Hamid Abu-al-Nasr, the oldest member, in addition to other candidates already mentioned in AL-MUSAWWAR.

In this interview, Kamal 'Abd-al-'Aziz sheds light on several issues and debates as well as numerous brotherhood theses from a completely personal point of view.

[Question] I think a natural starting point, before opening a comprehensive dialogue with you, has to be about the history of your association with the Muslim Brotherhood movement. When, how, and why?

[Answer] Like other Egyptian young men, following World War II, I had my general concerns and was involved in public life. I had a passionate desire for reform even though the means were different. My relationship with the Brotherhood began through educational and athletic activities the Brotherhood provided throughout the country. Ideology and outlook followed in 1943.

[Question] What was the last position you filled in the movement's organizational ladder?

[Answer] I did not have a special position, especially since upon graduation from law school I joined the general prosecutor's office and then the judiciary. I severed all relations with the Brotherhood out of my absolute belief that members of the judiciary should dissociate themselves from all organizations, regardless of goals, although this does not preclude judges' involvement in general national concerns.

[Question] During your membership in the Muslim Brotherhood, did you join the Special Department?

[Answer] No, I never joined the Special Department.

[Question] And now what position do you occupy in the Brotherhood, especially since you left the judiciary and turned to private law practice?

[Answer] There is no Brotherhood organization at present to warrant such a question. However, when a legal party is created, I, like any other citizen, will have my own opinion about the declared program and the symbols who will handle party business. In other words, it is not necessary to join any party formed by veteran Brotherhood members for the main thing is the party's program, methods, and symbols.

[Question] Going in the matter of applying the Shari'ah, the first question is what is your understanding of the Shari'ah issue itself?

[Answer] To begin with, I believe that we must differentiate between three distinct matters: Islamic Shari'ah, Islamic jurisprudence, and Islamic conduct. The indisputable definition of the Shari'ah is the absolute general teachings of the Koran and the Sunnah. As for Islamic jurisprudence, it is the way legists and Muslims understand the absolute rules in light of the time and place of their interpretation. Islamic conduct is human behavior at different historical eras which may or may not be in keeping with the Shari'ah or jurisprudence.

With regard to Islamic conduct, Islam and Islamic jurisprudence must not be held responsible from the standpoint of obligation. There is no doubt that the Shari'ah, the absolute rules mentioned in the Koran and the Sunnah, is a set of binding precepts for all times and places, be they related to human relations or government systems. As for Islamic jurisprudence, an extraordinary effort though it may be, it is no more than the legists' understanding of the provisions in light of prevailing circumstances. While it can be beneficial, it is not binding on other qualified legists of all ages and places.

[Question] The matter of counsel is a mainstay of the Islamic Shari'ah, but the question is who to appoint to this task, people in power or representatives elected by the people?

[Answer] Perhaps this issue is a salient example of the kind of differentiation I have already mentioned. Counsel, in the sense of including the people in the decision-making process, is a basic absolute rule of the

Koran which must be observed by rulers and subjects alike. As for ways that allow people to exercise their right to counsel, they differ according to social, economic and cultural circumstances. Islamic constitutional jurisprudence must innovate or choose power-sharing systems that can achieve this end, whereby the only restraint is not to use the organization as a way for killing the content.

[Question] What is the criterion in this case?

[Answer] Through this perspective, some may call for the adoption of the parliamentary system in the form of one or two shura councils. Others may endorse other forms, but all opinions are a matter of interpretation and a choice of the form deemed most appropriate for achieving counsel under prevailing circumstances.

[Question] But this is not specific.

[Answer] The essence of the matter is, in my view, that everyone must uphold the idea of binding counsel in the sense that the ruler must uphold the opinion of the Muslim people's representatives. As for the criteria for choosing these representatives, they differ according to environment and time, as is the case with the development of Islamic jurisprudence in any country.

[Question] What is the Shari'ah's stand on political parties? Do you approve of them?

[Answer] In my opinion, the Shari'ah allows, and indeed calls for and encourages, the establishment of parties because Islam, in its essence, is based on opinion. It is inconceivable that a system that belongs to it be based on a counter-opinion.

[Question] Do you approve of the establishment of a communist party, for example?

[Answer] Yes. I am of the opinion that the Islamic system has room for all kinds of political parties, even those whose ideology is incompatible with the prevalent Islamic thought, so long as they do not go beyond political activity to advocate heresy.

[Question] Do you approve of a political party for the Copts?

[Answer] Yes, we do approve of a political party for the Copts, although it is inconceivable to have a Christian political system because, to my knowledge, Christianity as a doctrine does not have the fundamentals for such a system. Christian participation in political action is based on Christian teachings that call for good and justice in general. This does not prevent them from advocating support for the Islamic system itself if they feel that it can realize this end. Egyptian history in particular is the best witness of that. All throughout the Islamic rule, Egypt has not experienced the kind of conflict witnessed in other countries. To my knowledge, some eminent church figures joined and participated in the Muslim Brotherhood movement.



[Question] What will your position toward them be if the Shari'ah is put into force? Will you treat them as non-Muslims subject to a head tax and exempt from military service?

[Answer] In my estimation, they will be treated as citizens who have the same rights and obligations as Muslims. Undoubtedly, legislation drawn from the Islamic Shari'ah will apply to them on the grounds that the Shari'ah is a general system that does not infringe upon their beliefs and personal statutes, be it with regard to the penal code, civil procedures, or the political system. As for the head tax, I believe--and according to the provisions--it is a substitute for national service. So long as they contribute to national defense and pay the blood tax, there will be no head tax.

[Question] With regard to [the divine statutes] legal punishment, do you believe they can be applied at this time under prevailing conditions?

[Answer] Much has been said about these statutes. Ancient and contemporary legists have explained that the divine statutes can only be applied if certain conditions are met.

[Question] The statute for theft, for example, can it be applied to everyone at present?

[Answer] This statute applies only if the perpetrator committed this act for no legitimate need. It is common knowledge that 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab suspended this statute in the year of al-Ramadah. At any rate, this issue cannot be separated from the fact that a general climate and appropriate objective conditions must be prepared for applying the Shari'ah.

[Question] What is the Shari'ah's position on the woman's right to work and get out in public?

[Answer] This is primarily a social issue, not a legal or doctrinal one. I believe that Islam stipulates only that Islamic values be upheld in everyday conduct. Whether women go out to work or not is a matter subject to general social circumstances, on the other hand. Therefore, it would be wrong to say that Islam either forbids or encourages women to work. The truth is that Islam enjoins women to observe certain limits in their conduct and appearance. Islamic history in the age of prophecy knew women who attained immortality through their work and diligence.

[Question] But some people place specific conditions on women going out in public, such as having a relative with them and going out only to take care of pressing needs, etc.

[Answer] These are personal interpretations aimed at enforcing Islamic laws of conduct and appearance from their point of view. Therefore, I believe that

this interpretation must be used to judge them and not pass judgment on Islam.

[Question] Does this mean that Islam may be subject to more than one interpretation?

[Answer] Like any other ideology and system, interpretations differ in its application or the systems deemed best to follow. The principal here is not to confuse interpretations with the essence of absolute rules in Islam.

[Question] Some members of hard-line groups say co-mingling is forbidden. What is your evaluation of this statement?

[Answer] No one said co-mingling is forbidden so long as women observe in their conduct and appearance Islamic rules and so long as meetings occur in public.

[Question] Do you support co-mingling in universities?

[Answer] Co-mingling in this dignified fashion at universities or places of work is not in conflict with Islamic values.

[Question] What is your stand on the veil?

[Answer] The veil is basic in Islam. These issues are meant to distract Muslims. Islam spread in Africa by example and without a call and in the absence of philosophies and preoccupation with petty issues.

[Question] How does the Brotherhood perceive relations with the ruler?

[Answer] My perception is that the ruler's relationship with any ideological current must be based on two main things:

The first is legitimacy with regard to the governed, in the sense that he adhere in his public actions to legitimate channels and legal procedures under prevailing laws which he may want to change.

The second is responsibility. The ruler must base his words and deeds on his feeling of responsibility toward all popular currents and that these currents have the right to question him within legal bounds without sensitivity or tension.

[Question] What is your position on the current regime in Egypt? Are there any points of agreement between you and this regime?

[Answer] I believe such an agreement exists on the basis of the Islamic current's belief that the current regime gives the people a measure of freedom of expression and movement they did not have before. My firm belief is that the basic issue which national factions of all persuasions must not lose sight of is that of freedom. Without freedom no call can exist. Therefore, all public officials must come together in defense of freedom. When we say freedom, we mean, above all, the freedom of counter-opinion because support for the freedom of expression is meaningless in the absence of counter-

opinions. Based on this key issue, I believe that there is no conflict between the Islamic current and the present regime. There are numerous opportunities to come together in a climate of freedom and purity, the two methods raised by the present regime.

[Question] Some people accuse the ruler and society of infidelity. How do you assess this phenomenon?

[Answer] Islam has nothing to do with this. A Muslim has no right to accuse another of infidelity, regardless of his ideology unless the latter openly declares his infidelity, in which case he will answer to the state and the law and not to any individual or group. This brings to mind a book by Hasan al-Hudaybi entitled, "PREACHERS, NOT JUDGES," in which he explains that the role of preachers of the Islamic solution is confined to preaching and persuasion without passing judgment on their enemies.

[Question] May I ask you about the motives that propelled Islamic groups to the forefront of events, carrying hard-line ideas and raising their banner?

[Answer] My guess is that those young men, who are good and pious people, in the absence of a legitimate channel that can embrace and steer them in the right direction, were not immune to being secretly steered by anti-Islamic currents toward petty issues as a way to ultimately undermine the Islamic solution.

[Question] If we were to ask about your viewpoint concerning the matter of violence practiced by some hard-line groups as a means to their end, what would you say?

[Answer] I believe that this matter is a contrived issue for I have seen no proof through practical study that violence is an actual characteristic of Islamic current elements. It is a charge the rulers and their aides have been bent on raising against the Islamic current in all ages. They have taken advantage of individual incidents that cannot represent a general phenomenon to proceed in this direction. Indeed, a neutral objective study firmly proves that the Islamic current has always been the victim of violence on the part of the government which has always had a double standard in dealing with it and other currents.

[Question] But the Brotherhood's Special Department has engaged in violent practices that cannot be overlooked?

[Answer] There is no doubt, as investigations and court cases have disclosed, that the Muslim Brotherhood had a Special Department. What is also true is that this department was not directed against the rulers or for the protection of the Brotherhood. It was created in fulfillment of the meaning of jihad [i.e., holy war] with respect to the Palestinian cause. Its members were the first to volunteer in the phalanxes which preceded regular armies in the fight against Zionism. Moreover, its groups were in the forefront of the canal resistance following the abrogation of the [1936] treaty. Actions blamed on



this department at home were directed at the Zionist movement, such as the advertising agency, the Jewish quarter and Chicoral incidents. The only actions at home that can be blamed on it are a few individual incidents in the wake of the bloody conflicts with regimes, as happens in every conflict.

[Question] What do you think about covert or underground action?

[Answer] I personally do not support the establishment of underground or undeclared organizations. I see them as a threat to thought and movement. History has proven that movements based on thought can only engage in overt pacific action based on thought alone.

[Question] They why do some groups insist on covert action and violence?

[Answer] I believe that this is due to the lack of organization or an organized legitimate channel for Islamic thought. Moreover, some passionate young people suffer from what we call a persecution complex. Therefore, the only thing they can do, consciously or unconsciously, and I can almost say by instigation at times, is to occupy themselves with side issues of no consequence.

[Question] What do you mean by a legitimate channel? Do you mean a party or a society?

[Answer] Both together. It is strange to ban a party in Islamic countries on an Islamic religious basis. Islam does not separate between church and state while most political parties in Europe are established on religious bases although it is no sin that Christianity is based, in its essence, on individual and moral reform without a political system. The desire for reform, however, prompted politicians there to use religion as a means for unification. Indeed, recent revolutionary movements in Latin America, the Philippines, and other places have included church leaders who uphold the principles of right. Even the Vatican has a government.

[Question] Do you mean to say that it is not a sin to engage in political action on a religious basis?

[Answer] Why not? All these examples provide irrefutable proof that in the West in general, which has witnessed a struggle between secular government leaders and the church which led to a rift, political life failed to preclude political action on a religious basis. Perhaps this shows that banning rulers in Muslim countries from forming political parties or societies, or whatever they may be called, to preach the Islamic system is not based on any doctrinal or ideological foundation as much as on a security outlook by the regimes themselves.

[Question] Finally, how do you view the Muslim Brotherhood current at the present time?

[Answer] The Muslim Brotherhood has been wiped out organizationally ever since 1948 by the decision to dissolve the group. Although this decision was rescinded in 1951, the Brotherhood was soon banned once again and since then

there has been nothing that can legitimately be called a Brotherhood organization. It cannot be ignored that a legitimate organized movement plays a very important role in the life of all ideologies. Therefore, I believe that the people who fight the legitimate organization of the Islamic current are not against the Islamic movement as much as Islamic thought itself so that it may vanish or at least fall into confusion and disarray.

[Boxed inset on p 14]

[Text] Statement from Kamal 'Abd-al-'Aziz

Following the publication of the special statement about Mr Muhammad Kamal 'Abd-al-'Aziz's interview last week, he sent us the following comment:

AL-MUSAWWAR last week published a newsitem under the heading, "Kamal 'Abd-al-'Aziz Is a Candidate for Brotherhood Supreme Guide," and an interview in the same issue by Salah Abu Raqiq in which he talked about organizations and struggles and volunteered to nominate me as Brotherhood supreme guide. I would like to emphasize here that I granted the interview in my personal capacity and not in the name of any group. I have no connections with or knowledge of several of the organizations mentioned in Salah Abu Raqiq's interview or the struggles to which he alluded. I was surprised by Mr Abu Raqiq's nomination which he or anyone else failed to discuss with me or to inform me of what he intended to volunteer in his interview.

12502

CSO:4504/310

SUDAN

NATIONAL ACTION PARTY'S CARLO JOHN AKUOT INTERVIEWED

Khartum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 24 Apr 86 p 9

[Article by Zayn al-'Abidin Abu Hajj: "Head of Sudanese National Action Party (SNAP) Reaffirms That Elections Were Held in a Democratic Climate and Calls for Removal of Toppled Regime Officials"]

[Text] AL-SAHFAH met with Mr Carlo John Akuot, head of the Sudanese National Action Party (SNAP), to seek his opinion about events in the political arena following the outcome of elections in northern Sudan and some electoral districts in the South. Our first question was about his position toward current events and about the reasons for his party's loss in the districts where its candidates ran for election. He said:

We must reaffirm that the elections were held in a climate of democracy in the full sense of the word, as evidenced by the absence of any unlawful or disorderly conduct. Indeed, parties and candidates alike conducted themselves in an exemplary fashion, thus underscoring the fact that the sense of national responsibility outweighed any other partisan or personal aspirations.

About taking part in the elections, Mr Carlo said: Our party ran in 28 districts in various southern cities, but it was unfortunate that in all these districts the elections were put off for security reasons. As for northern Sudan, we did not run in any district, but our party directed its masses to stand by the Democratic Unionist Party because it is a centrist party whose policy is more in agreement with ours than any other party.

About his general opinion of proposed solutions and propositions regarding the question of the South, Mr Carlo says: Our party demands regional autonomy for southern Sudan on a democratic basis within the framework of a united Sudan. Mr Carlo also says: Our proposed solutions guarantee broad popular sharing of power and involvement in turning the wheels of production.

Mr Carlo adds: Our proposals were drawn from past experience in the application of regional autonomy during the past regime. It is an experience marked by people's exclusion from exercising their democratic right and power-sharing, thus creating a military and civilian bureaucratic class that monopolized power and privileges and engaged in corruption which hurt the national economy and people's interests, particularly in the southern region,

ultimately plunging the South into a tribal strife that led to its partition into regions and the violation of the 1972 Addis Ababa agreement.

Mr Carlo says that their party calls for the removal of all past regime officials from government positions because they represent a stumbling block for any solution to the question of the South because they bear direct responsibility for the recent rebellion and for John Garang's movement.

About the geographic division of electoral districts, Mr Carlo says: Geographic division with regard to the South was inequitable. Its negative effects were reflected in the imbalance between districts in the North and the South compared to population rates. Therefore, we demand an increase in the number of districts in the South because the 1968 elections had 60 districts in the South and 158 in the North, while today the North has added 47 to this number and the South only 8. This, as you can see, has created an imbalance in representation.

Mr Carlo concluded his interview by saying: We hope that our practice of democracy stems from a strong belief in the unity of this nation and the desire to work for our country's prosperity away from blind bigotry.

12502  
CSO: 4504/312

SUDAN

LIBYAN PRESENCE IN AL-FASHIR DISCUSSED

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 10 May 86 p 5

[Article by Allan Boldt and Hannibal Erngaard]

[Text] Under the cover of relief work, Col. Quadhafi has sent large quantities of weapons and 822 troops to West Sudan. This has given rise to local annoyance, which was released recently when seven Libyan soldiers came to experience the punishment imposed by the Koran for drunkenness.

Forty lashes to each of the seven Libyans was the punishment they received for having consumed alcohol in public even though the authorities in Al-Fashir in West Sudan normally are not too anxious to check the observance of the controversial Islamic laws.

The incident most certainly reflects the annoyance on the part of the local population at the presence of 822 Libyan troops in civilian clothes who are participating in a secret delivery of weapons. A month ago the Libyan transport squadron appeared in Al-Fashir. It brought along a medical team, medications and a large supply of foodstuffs, but space had also been provided for considerable quantities of hand weapons and ammunition. The military hardware has been estimated to account for at least half of the cargo of the 360 vehicles.

Well-informed sources in Khartoum have told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that the local security forces were surprised at the strong military character of the Libyan relief operation. Expelling the Libyans is still under consideration, but for the present they have been stationed in a camp outside of Al-Fashir, well over 300 kilometers from the Sudanese border to Chad.

Approximately 300 of the Libyan transport vehicles have subsequently been sighted in the southern part of Sudan, and several independent sources state that the goal of the Libyan military cargo was the small southern garrison town of Tonj and the poorly equipped Sudanese Army. From Tonj they are fighting the insurrectionary movement of the SPLA, whose most recent success in the 3 years of civil war was the temporary takeover of the strategically important garrison town of Rumbek, approximately 100 kilometers from Tonj.



The military delivery was apparently arranged following a secret agreement with Col. Qadhafi. Last February, Osman Abdalla, defense minister of Sudan, visited Libya. Shortly afterwards, two Russian-built Tupolev-22 bombers appeared in Khartoum. They were, subsequently, used in the bombing of the insurrectionary forces at Rumbek, statably flown by Libyan pilots, who have been reported seen here in Khartoum.

#### Shift in Position

Col. Qadhafi's open support of the Sudanese Army conflicts with his previous military deliveries and training of the SPLA insurrectionary movement. However, the downfall in April of last year of Numayri, the pro-American president and dictator, has brought more pro-Libyan forces to power.

Following the rule of a military-civilian transition government for the past 12 months, the first democratic government of Sudan in 18 years was installed last Tuesday. Heading the government is 51-year-old Sadig al-Mahdi of the moderate Islamic Umma party.

Sadig al-Mahdi is a personal friend of Col. Qadhafi, who has sheltered a large number of opposition groups during Numayri's corrupt rule of Sudan. However, there is a limit to Sadig al-Mahdi's favors to the Libyan colonel.

Sadig al-Mahdi thus stressed last week that "foreign powers will not be allowed to settle their disputes on Sudanese soil." An ill-disguised allusion to the Libyans following the shooting on 15 April of an American embassy official in the street of Khartoum, only 18 hours after the U.S. attack on Libya.

The massive Libyan presence in Sudan is a major problem to the country's security forces. The American embassy has recognized the investigations and security measures on the part of the authorities following the shooting, but the Americans are but one of several targets in the activities of the Libyans.

The local security people have thus not welcomed the large transport squadron in the Darfur province. The well over 800 Libyans have been placed in a camp outside of Al-Fashir to prevent them from approaching the Sudanese western border with Chad. On the Sudanese side are several hundred refugees from the civil war in Chad, where Libyan forces actively support the rebellion against pro-Western President Habre.

#### Big Attraction

Nor has the tension between the Libyan forces and the many relief organizations in the area around Al-Fashir increased the popularity of the Libyans among the local population. Although the Sudanese themselves enjoy Araki, the national brandy, to the full, last Monday's official lashing and humiliation of seven Libyan soldiers provided a major attraction among the Sudanese in Al-Fashir.

7262

CSO: 3613/122

SUDAN

MINISTER OF FINANCE OPTIMISTIC ON ECONOMIC SITUATION

Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 17 May 86 p 7

[Interview with Dr Bashir 'Umar by Mubarak Abu-al-Dhahab: "We Will Deal With Economic Crisis By Stimulating Production and Services Through Personal Capabilities"; in Khartoum, date not specified]

[Text] The new regime the Sudanese people have chosen democratically is facing an acute economic crisis and a war in the South which is exhausting its limited resources, preventing the exploitation of oil resources, impeding economic integration in Sudan, and costing close to one million Sudanese pounds a day.

The crippling foreign debt the democratic regime has inherited from the dictatorial order is putting a severe strain on the developmental process and a suitable solution must be found. Services and production are on the decline due to shortages in trained manpower, production facilities, and spare parts.

To gain insight into the Sudanese economic initiative under such a situation and dilemma, AL-KHALIJ conducted the first interview with Dr Bashir 'Umar, the new minister of finance and professor of economics at Khartoum University, which is to be published in the local and Arab press, and to ask him about the options the new Sudanese government deems sure to end the crisis. Below is the text of the interview.

[Question] What solutions are you proposing for ending the Sudanese economic crisis in the short, medium, and long run?

[Answer] One urgent matter facing the Sudanese economy is the economic decline in the standard of living. This is a two-faceted issue: production and prices.

We plan to draw up an urgent plan to bring prices under control, particularly with respect to basic commodities which must be within people's reach. There is a great likelihood that this goal can be achieved. The other side is production which has experienced a very sharp decline in general in the past period, agricultural production particularly.



We also have an urgent economic plan to subsidize production heavily in order to realize a surplus in basic commodities. As I have already said, agriculture is the principle resource of the Sudanese economy.

This plan addresses the chief aspects of the agricultural sector and the traditional veterinary sector in particular. With respect to other services which are directly linked to the economy, specifically those related to drinking water and health and educational services, we have drawn up urgent plans for short-term reform in this area. I cannot go into detail at this time, but we have a complete picture of how these services may be aided to effect a rise in the standard of living in the short run.

In the medium and long run, economic studies have been underway for the last 16 years to formulate a picture of what the Sudanese economy should be in the coming phase. In brief, these efforts are being focused on subsidizing agricultural, industrial, or craft production, as follows:

- A. Basic restructuring of the production process.
- B. Reformulation of policies related to incentives, transfers, etc.
- C. We will concentrate heavily on self-reliance. When we talk about self-reliance, we do not mean the kind advocated by the past regime. We are focusing on ways that can allow Sudan to be self-reliant. This is possible because Sudan, thank God, has tremendous human and diverse natural resources. A good case in point is the transitional year. We had been suffering from a drought for 3 years and in 1 year we realized a corn production surplus of 1.2 million tons, a very considerable figure which bespeaks extraordinary possibilities which, if put to good use, can take Sudan out of its economic predicament into the realm of self-reliance and therefrom to that of surplus for export in the long run.

The key difficulty in this domain is the lack of necessary capital. However, we also believe that by rationalizing spending on available resources, meager as they are, we can secure certain resources in the short run and strive for others. This, though, must definitely come after the rationalization of domestic resources. If we can stop government waste, we can save ourselves efforts to attract foreign capital which will enable us to talk about ways for attracting investments and private and public international capital, provided that we formulate a clear vision of how to make use of the money we attract. We will work to implement proposals and resolutions passed in economic conferences held during the transition period.

[Question] How do you perceive investment and the attracting of Arab capital?

[Answer] Any developing country in the world welcomes the opportunity to attract foreign capital, provided that it controls the terms of investment. What I mean is that both parties stand to gain and we in Sudan believe that vast opportunities exist for Arab capital investment.

I believe that the toppled regime misinvested Arab capital in Sudan because it did not have a clear plan for absorbing such capital. I also believe that a

favorable climate conducive to the influx of capital failed to materialize due to personal mistakes and wavering political stances toward Arab countries on the part of the deposed president's government.

We will seek to correct all these deficiencies by paving the way for a foreign policy with the Arab countries based on harmony and fraternity in hope of opening the door to the influx of capital which Sudan can use to create new job opportunities and to raise salaries and stimulate the local market while allowing Arab capital to make its own profit. This can be done through a well-considered plan embodying the rights and responsibilities of both parties and not subject to personal considerations.

We in government will set up projects and feasibility studies for the benefit of Sudan and investors alike. We will not give free rein to people to buy up half of Sudan's land as did the deposed Numayri. Natural resources belong to the Sudanese people and investment in them is legal for all Arabs and foreigners, Arab capital specifically. We believe that it is high time Arab capital is invested in the Arab region.

We believe that it is in our interest as well as the Arab interest to invest Arab capital in Sudan which allows high rates of return.

[Question] What is your vision of such an Arab investor?

[Answer] Naturally, there has to be financially projects. We believe we can prepare such agricultural, animal, and industrial projects. Sudan abounds in opportunities for these kinds of projects and the government, through the Ministry of Planning, is undertaking a feasibility study for investment projects to be offered to Arab capital. I do not think there will be any difficulty in obtaining financing for these projects so long as the study expounds the advantages and available guarantees to the investor as well as the advantages to Sudan itself.

In other words, everything must be made crystal clear in a scientific way. We do not want such matters to be handled behind the scenes, such as Numayri's and Kashoggi's deals. We are talking here about the resources of the Sudanese people who have the right to know what is being done with their resources. I believe that if Arab investors compute the financial benefit they can reap, they will decide in favor of investing in Sudan. I do not see any problem in opening the door to the Arab investor in this framework.

Although we are facing some difficult problems, these can be surmounted with the help of investors to the benefit of both parties, provided that we discount the investor's contribution to the medium and long term with a view to providing him with opportunities for higher yield.

[Question] What is your policy toward Sudan's foreign debt and how to deal with it?

[Answer] The national economic conference discussed this issue in great detail. The proposals and resolutions passed by this conference are acceptable to us and we are looking to the possibility of the Arab countries' cancelling Sudan's debts.

I think that our debt to Arab countries is not so huge as to make cancellation impossible. This is our first option. Second, if it is impossible to relieve us of such debts, I believe that the creditors can release us from paying the interest on the debt. Third, if all this is impossible, we hope that the creditors will give us a grace period of several years so that we may put our house in order because the truth is that we are unable to pay up these debts. I prefer the first option. Releasing us from the debts will allow us to stand on our feet, thus triggering an economic recovery in Sudan of great benefit to Arab investors because these debts will be diverted to them after rebuilding our economy.

[Question] What effect will the worldwide drop in oil prices have on oil exploration in Sudan?

[Answer] Oil is an untapped resource which can be put to good use at any time. It is experiencing, however, a sharp drop in prices worldwide whereby the price has dropped in some spot markets after hitting \$34.

Accordingly, Sudan's oil bill has dropped to one-third, or \$200 million from \$600 million. This is an unexpected plus for us and for developing countries from the standpoint of balance of payments.

With respect to our previous oil discoveries, be they in the South where security conditions have put a stop to exploration activities or in the West where some discoveries have been made and exploration is still underway, the natural economic situation calls for the construction of refineries and small local refining facilities to meet local demand in these areas without any thought to export. This is in view of the fact that the price of imported oil is cheaper for us than the refined oil transported from the South and West to the North, the center or any other part of Sudan.

Nonetheless, the existence of an oil reserve in Sudan is a saving for tomorrow.

12502

CSO: 4504/312

WESTERN SAHARA

POLISARIO OFFICIAL VIEWS TALKS WITH MOROCCO

LD171459 Algiers Domestic Service in French 1200 GMT 17 May 86

[Interview given by Mahfoud Ali Beiba, member of the Polisario Executive Committee, to an unidentified correspondent for Algiers radio; date and place not given--recorded, with Beiba speaking in Arabic fading into French translation]

[Excerpt] There have been two stages of preliminary talks, and during each stage the Polisario went in a spirit of cooperation and peace. For the Polisario, it was an opportunity to explain clearly its position based on the UN resolution (?4050). It was also an opportunity for the Polisario to request the implementation of the popular referendum on self-determination and the withdrawal of Morocco's troops, administration, and colonies. We also recalled Morocco's stand of 1975 that demanded [as heard] at the time the same conditions that it is rejecting today; that is, the withdrawal of the troops, of the administration, and of the settlement colonies. Thus, we remained in our position--and arguments bear us out--on the basis of the observance of two conditions: the UN-OAU peace plan, and the dismantling of the colonization of western Sahara.

The Moroccan position remains unchanged, and it hinges on three points: the first, the rejection of resolution (?4050), which represents the basis for all the efforts made by the UN General Secretary and the OAU president with a view to solving the Saharan problem; the second, Morocco refuses direct talks when in fact direct talks are the only means of restoring peace to the region; the third, Morocco refuses the joint UN and OAU responsibility in this search for peace. To sum up: The two series of talks have been for us the opportunity to explain our positions once more, while Morocco only came to New York with one intention of misleading world public opinion and of emerging from its diplomatic isolation.

/12712

CSO: 4500/125

SYRIA

VICE PRESIDENT 'ABD-AL-HALIM KHADDAM INTERVIEWED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 17 May 86 pp 15-18

[Interview with Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam by Marawan al-Mahayini: "'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam Tells AL-MUSTAQBAL, 'Syria Opposes Terrorism and Condemns It because Syria Has Been Victimized by Terrorism and Its Consequences More Than Any Other Country in the World';" date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] "We will repel any aggression with all our might."

"This is the substance of our agreement with Jordan."

"A national solution in Lebanon is no longer out of reach."

At this point in time Damascus has gone beyond the point of being the key to the region and its problems. Damascus is mentioned now at the beginning of any discussion related to Middle Eastern affairs or closely related to all the problems that occupy the world's attention at the present time.

The Middle East question, the problem of Lebanon, the dreadful campaign about terrorism and the intense campaign to strip the Arabs of the weapons they have left are important issues with which the world is now preoccupied. Syria stands at the center of that attention, and its position has become a primary consideration for any political organization that is concerned with these questions and their implications.

Since this is the case, AL-MUSTAQBAL thought it should interview a Syrian official and ask him what the possibilities for all these issues were and what the future holds for them. We had this interview with the vice president of the Arab Republic of Syria, Mr 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam.

[Question] We would like to find out where Syria stands on many issues. But the most recent of these issues is that extensive, protracted and broad-based campaign on terrorism. Let's begin with that. We would like to know what you think about it, and we would like you to tell us where Syria stands on this matter.

[Answer] First of all, there is a racist, western, reactionary campaign, and that campaign corresponds with the Zionist movement. Instigators of that campaign believe that the Arabs are in a state of siege and that their capabilities



can no longer have any economic and military impact on the international situation. Consequently, the instigators of this campaign have been making accusations against this or the other Arab country and holding the Arabs responsible for terrorism.

But I would also like to ask the instigators of this campaign a few questions first:

Who was behind the attempt to assassinate President Ronald Reagan?

Who was behind the attempt to assassinate Mrs Margaret Thatcher when an explosion occurred at the hotel where she was staying during a conference of her party?

Who was behind the attempt that was made on the life of His Holiness the Pope?

Who was behind the kidnapping and the murder of the late Aldo Moro, the prime minister of Italy?

Who kidnapped and killed the American general in Italy? Who killed a number of generals in Spain, and who killed Mr Olaf Palme in Sweden?

Who fired missiles on the recent Tokyo Summit?

Were the Arabs behind these and other operations?

[Question] It is being alleged that there has been some Arab support and occasionally Syrian support as well for some of these terrorist organizations. What do you have to say about that?

[Answer] We support the National Resistance in south Lebanon because it is fighting the occupation, and we support our Palestinian brothers who have been fighting Israel's occupation forces in occupied Palestine. Fighting for one's liberation is legitimate; at the same time, such a fight is also a fight against terrorism because an occupation force is considered by every law and every statute a terrorist force. People have the right to fight to liberate themselves. Israel has been enthusiastically involved in the current campaign because it is using it to serve its own aggressive objectives. It is also using this campaign to cover up its terrorist practices in occupied Arab lands in an attempt to benefit from the general anti-terrorist sentiments among all nations. It is trying to utilize its influence in various western circles, particularly in the United States, to characterize the national struggle in south Lebanon and in occupied Arab territory as terrorism.

Let me say further that there is no truth to all the things which are being said about our support for terrorism. We only support those forces that are struggling to liberate themselves, and that support is legitimate. Other than that, Syria has condemned and strongly condemns any action that is outside this clearly defined national resistance framework.

[Question] Why then is Syria being accused?

[Answer] It is not because Syria supports terrorist organizations. Syria's accusers know this is not true, but they allege that deliberately to create a political climate that could serve the purposes of military aggression, or because they believe that Syria will be intimidated and will back down from its policy and its national positions.

However, instigators of this campaign and people who have been pointing their fingers at Syria must realize and clearly understand that Syria cannot be intimidated. Syrians will not become alarmed. They chose to endure all the painful consequences of the cause--a cause that is theirs--and they will not hesitate to do so. Threats, implied threats or aggression will serve no purpose.

[Question] What is the reason behind the campaign?

[Answer] Attempts to put Syria out of the political picture by means of American actions in the region failed, so they turned to attempts to apply political and military pressure to remove what may be called the Syrian obstacle. Syria is pursuing a national policy that is based on the national interests of the Arab nation. Syria perceives its interests as being part and parcel of the Arab nation's interests. One look at the region's recent and current developments in political geography affirms that Syria's national policy has been and still is impeding attempts by imperialist circles and the Israeli enemy to dominate and control the region. That is why these circles are now putting pressure on Syria. But they must understand that that will only make the Syrians more determined to insist on their national course and to choose their own road to freedom, dignity and independence.

Regardless of the difficulties and dangers, it is the destiny of the Umayyads' capital city to continue bearing the torch, which carries the message of the Arab nation.

[Question] Will the terrorism that is being practiced against Syria become part of "the anti-terrorism campaign?"

[Answer] They are forgetting the fact that Syria is one of the countries that has been subjected to more terrorism than many other countries. Syria has suffered considerably from terrorist actions. Most recently, last April 16, criminal clients blew up a few transportation facilities. In that incident 144 citizens died, and 149 others were injured.

That number of victims of one terrorist incident which occurred in Syria in one day is many times more than the number of all those who were killed in Europe as a result of terrorist actions there. That is why we condemn terrorism, and we fight it because we have suffered from it. But is it true that this western campaign is in fact an anti-terrorist campaign, or is it a campaign whose aim is the restoration of colonial domination over Third World countries?

Whatever the case may be, we fully condemn terrorism and we fight it. We do, however, make a distinction between terrorist actions and legitimate national resistance actions that are carried out by the people for their own liberation. We have always condemned the hijacking of airplanes and the kidnapping and killing of citizens and other such actions. At the same time we support and back the struggle for liberation in any occupied land. Therefore, we do support Lebanon's national resistance.

## Jordan and the Organization

[Question] By the way, it's been reported that contacts between Syria and the PLO have been resumed. [Is that true?]

[Answer] There is nothing new in that regard. The problem among Palestinians is one between two groups who oppose each other. One group is fighting for the cause and its survival, and the other has almost lost the cause.

[Question] Are relations between Syria and Jordan continuing to improve?

[Answer] Contacts between the two governments enabled them to overcome the negative climate which had clouded their relationship. The Syrian and Jordanian governments have been able to make good progress in improving those relations. President al-Asad's recent visit to Amman proved to be reassuring, and his excellency's talks with King Husayn have reassured Syria's president and the country's leaders and gave them positive feelings. We will try to maintain this climate of improving relations with Amman as long as that improvement serves the purposes of confronting Israel's aggressive policy and resisting capitulatory as well as partial and unilateral solutions. We will continue to maintain this climate of improving relations as long as it promotes Arab interests.

[Question] But Amman's as well as Damascus's positions and policies on numerous matters as well as their relations with numerous Arab capitals are still contradictory, aren't they?

[Answer] There is an agreement over basic issues, chief among which, we agree not to negotiate with the Israeli enemy; we agree to reject partial or unilateral solutions to the Middle East question; and we agree to adhere to Arab Summit resolutions and to a comprehensive settlement. Naturally, each Arab country has its own policy, but duty requires that these policies be coordinated under the framework of a long-term national struggle for the purpose of the greater homeland's unity.

[Question] What is Syria's assessment of the seriousness of Israel's threats?

[Answer] As the Israelis step up their threats, let us reaffirm that an attack on Syria will no longer be a picnic. Syria will repel that attack with all its resources. We realize that the Israelis' policy--and this is part of their strategy--is based on aggression and expansion. But we too have our own policy which is based on defending our land and our dignity, and that policy has its own factors and its own requirements.

[Question] What about the American threats which coincided with the threats of the anti-terrorism campaign?

[Answer] Despite all the statements which have been relayed to us and attributed to officials in one country or another, we still want to believe that there are people in those countries who use their minds and who can consider positions and calculate consequences.

Without going on and on about this matter let me say in a few words that Syria is not an easy morsel. The road to Syria is not paved with roses. The Syrians have the capabilities; they have the means, the will and the determination to respond to aggression and to inflict appropriate damage and harm on the aggressors. We do not seek aggression, but we will also not accept an attack on us. Those people have to take a close look at their history, and they have to consider the facts in a responsible manner. I hope that no one will become involved in such an action, because such an involvement will cost them.

[Question] To what extent can there be an association between the campaign against Syria, the threats that are being made against it and the questions that are being raised about its economic condition?

[Answer] The purpose of the frantic campaign against Syria is to create a state of confusion and, consequently, create the conditions that would help [our enemies] strike our national policy. The Israeli enemy is one of the foremost instigators of this campaign. We do not deny that Syria has economic difficulties, just as any other country in the world does. Even rich countries have their difficulties. Most of our difficulties are the result of the economic situation in the world, but some of those difficulties have to do with inadequacies, negligence and a lack of understanding, as President al-Asad has already indicated. President al-Asad has instructed Syrian leaders to correct those negative aspects of the economy which have no foreign cause because we can contain them, and we will. The structure of the economy in Syria is sound, and we were able, particularly after President al-Asad's corrective movement, to build a broad and diverse economic base which provided us with large capabilities to develop our defense capabilities. We are living in a state of war that is consuming a large part of our resources, and that creates difficulties which would not be found in a society that is not at war, but these difficulties are much less than those of countries which are considered very rich.

Economic prospects for Syria are wide open. They call for much optimism because our resources are great and numerous.

Let Syria's enemies and those who are raising questions about it rest assured that their campaigns will not succeed.

#### The American Peace

[Question] Since we are talking about the future, what are the prospects for the future of the cause? What is Syria's position on the action that America took to bring about peace?

[Answer] The Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian cause are going through complex circumstances which are the result of the Israeli enemy's continued aggression and expansion. These complicated circumstances are the result of Israel's refusal to devote serious attention to the establishment of a just and lasting peace. Since America's action serves Israel's policy and interests, it was only natural that it should fail.

Poor Arab conditions and the Arabs' divided state have complicated matters further. This has strengthened the Israeli enemy and encouraged Washington to



carry out provocative and aggressive operations. One such operation was the attack on the fraternal country of Libya.

Therefore, correcting the Arab situation and rectifying it on the basis of defining priorities and identifying our friends and our enemies have become extremely important for the future of the Arabs and their various interests.

It has become evident that there is no American peace. There are rather U.S.-Israeli plans to impose a state of submission on the Arabs, to shore up Israel's aggressive posture, to impose U.S. control over the region and confiscate the Arabs' independence and their future. The Americans are proposing that the Arabs accept the occupation and what Israel has achieved as a result of its attacks. They are rejecting a just and an objective solution, and that confirms the absence of a Washington policy that is based on the U.S. role as a superpower. Ever since the onset of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and particularly after the 1967 aggression, all American efforts have been focused on breaking up the Arab position. That is why one cannot construct a position that is based on the United States becoming an effective player in the process of establishing a just and lasting peace in the region.

As far as we are concerned in Syria, we are optimistic about the future. We are facing the current situation with action on two fronts. First, we are building up our own military and economic capabilities, and we are building up our capabilities in every area. We've made considerable progress in that regard since President al-Asad proposed that we achieve a strategic balance. President al-Asad made that proposal at the 1974 al-Rabat Conference after conducting an in-depth study and analysis of all the stages of the conflict with the Israeli enemy.

The second front of our action, where our efforts have been accompanied by much patience, is the Arab front. In that context the efforts we've been making to remedy the present situation have been quiet. Although we are facing difficulties, treatment of the situation is not impossible. We hope that in spite of these major difficulties, we will achieve serious developments in the field of Arab action and Arab relations.

[Question] What about the summit and the difficulties that lie in the way of convening either an emergency or a regular summit meeting?

[Answer] What the Arab situation is suffering from is the reason why an Arab summit meeting has not been convened to support Libya against the treacherous American attack on that country. That attack itself should have been enough to help the Arabs overcome some of those difficulties.

At any rate, Syria has informed all its fellow Arabs that it agrees to convening an emergency or a regular Arab summit meeting so that a serious and a purposeful discussion of the entire Arab situation can be held. Such a summit would be held so that a new and an appropriate Arab situation can be achieved. Such a summit requires that everyone make considerable efforts; it requires that heads of Arab countries deliberate with each other actively and effectively. I believe that convening such a summit will become possible, and I believe that success for that summit is achievable if serious efforts are made to prepare for it, and if these efforts are accompanied by quiet and purposeful deliberations among the heads of state.



[Question] What about the stumbling block of having different positions on the Iraq-Iran war?

[Answer] Ever since that war began, Syria's conclusions about it have been proclaimed, and its position on that war has been well-known. If that subject comes up again, Syria will reiterate its objective conclusions, and it will clarify its position. It is more important, however, to discuss guarantees for the future of this nation and its opposition to the Zionist danger which is supported by major foreign powers. It is important that we safeguard any progress that is made to bring about developments which would serve the nation's national interests.

What Will Become of Lebanon?

[Question] We have been talking with you at length, and we've touched upon many matters. But in talking with you we have to bring up the subject of Lebanon. You have been dealing with that country's bloody crisis ever since it began. How long will Lebanon continue to exist in this condition?

[Answer] I do not wish to review the developments of the Lebanese crisis up to this point. Each one of us has lived through those days or rather hours. Everyone knows that President al-Asad has been and is devoting much of his attention to it. The problem in Lebanon is one between two tendencies. The first one wants Lebanon to become a united Arab country whose citizens would have equal rights and obligations under a democratic system in which no citizen would receive any distinction except in proportion to his contributions to the country. The second tendency is a narrow-minded one that is based on ideas implanted by westerners during the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries. These ideas may be briefly described as follows: there would be a sectarian upper class on whose basis Lebanon would have to be built. Such ideas lead to sectarian domination and to division in the structure of Lebanese society.

The Israelis used that situation to their advantage. They were able to get commitments from the proponents of the second tendency, and they utilized them to serve their strategy in the region. Their aim is to divide Lebanon and to keep it a source of instability in the region, upsetting and draining the entire region.

Ever since the crisis began our view of the situation has been unequivocal: it has been based on the unity of the territory and the people of Lebanon. We want to build up the Lebanese state for all its people. Our view stems from the self-evident notion that Lebanon is a fraternal Arab country that has special ties with Syria. Our efforts in this regard have been continuous, and we've achieved significant results which may be recalled by going back to what conditions and circumstances were like when we entered Lebanon in 1976. One may recall how things were then, what we did and whom we saved.

Instead of helping to bring about a climate that would help proponents of the second tendency develop and change their ideas and thoughts and become more open-minded about partitioning the country, our entry into Lebanon did not bring about that change among those people. Instead, some of them continued their

relations with Israel, and they were used by Israel to achieve objectives that conflicted with Lebanon's interests and future. This situation continued till Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982. At that time some of those people cooperated with Israel, and that complicated the domestic situation even further.

We continued our efforts, and we succeeded once again in foiling the 17 May agreement which could have become a destructive and a divisive factor in the country. Our efforts brought about a national unity government; a cease-fire was established; and people looked forward to peace. But these successes did not make Syria capable of replacing Lebanese parties, nor did they make Syria capable of changing positions that are based on erroneous premises or on suspect foreign commitments.

[Question] All this is history. What about the present, and what will become of Lebanon in the future?

[Answer] Despite everything, Syria has grasped all the negative and positive factors, and it has sponsored a dialogue between the principal forces which have been fighting each other. That dialogue ended with those forces signing a tri-partite agreement. Then, last January 15 that agreement suffered a major setback, and the situation has not yet returned to what it was before the agreement. The political division has gone beyond its predominantly sectarian character. It is now a national division along the following lines: on one side are those who support national peace, reconciliation and the restoration of national unity on the basis of the tri-partite agreement, and on the other side are those who oppose that.

There are respectable leaders from all sects among the first group. And, although they are a small minority, there are also figures from various sects who oppose the tri-partite agreement.

As far as the future is concerned, we are confident that Lebanon will be able to overcome all the negative factors despite the complex conditions. We are confident that the time for a national solution which was defined and outlined by the tri-partite agreement is no longer out of reach.

[Question] Opponents of the tri-partite agreement are fearful of the effect such a solution might have on Lebanon's independence and sovereignty.

[Answer] We understand that. It is natural for every citizen to be sensitive about his country's sovereignty and independence, and that sensitivity is the gauge of his sense of affiliation with the nation and his sense of national responsibility. But those who are raising that matter now in Lebanon are not proponents of Lebanon's sovereignty and independence. If they were, they would have opposed Israel's invasion and they would have assumed decisive positions when the Israelis invaded, bombarded and destroyed the Lebanese capital.

Where was this sensitivity then, and how are we to interpret it now? If the matter has to do with the allegation made by this minority that they fear for the future of Christians [in Lebanon], that matter has not come up, and it will definitely not come up because Christians, like Muslims, are citizens of Lebanon. As citizens of Lebanon, they have been living together, and they will

continue to do so. We all know that those who lost their lives on the 6th of May were Christian and Muslim citizens of Lebanon and of Syria. Let us ask those rumormongers this: when did the Arab intervention in Lebanon occur and in whose interests was it carried out?

The only time there was actual Arab intervention in Lebanon was when Syrian troops entered Lebanon in 1976 to protect the Christians and to break the siege around Zahlah and some Christian villages. What is this danger they are trying to make people fear? What is this danger they are using to protect their interests and to prolong the bloody civil strife in Lebanon.

The essence of all this is that the vast majority of Lebanese citizens want national peace. They found in the tri-partite agreement a little hope that peace can be achieved. It is inevitable that this vast majority with its political forces and its national figures will be able to find the appropriate tool to achieve the peace it is hoping to achieve. We in Syria will not stand in the way of any action taken by the proponents of national peace, nor will we block such action by them.

8592

CSO: 4404/327

AFGHANISTAN

WESTERN CIRCLES 'ABUSING' CHERNOBYL ACCIDENT

LD160734 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0445 GMT 16 May 86

[Text] Kabul, 15 May (BAKHTAR)--A political observer of BAKHTAR writes:

Certain Western circles headed by the Washington administration and the imperialist mass media desperately strive to scrape the peace initiatives of the USSR with the staging of vociferation and abusing the incident of Chernobyl atomic power station of the USSR.

The Chernobyl incident, which has come completely under control, has been accepted by the international community as an unforeseen event. But the Western countries, in particular, the White House, vastly make use of the incident for anti-Soviet propaganda ends.

The Western countries and the Washington administration follow two goals from the propaganda campaign. In the first instance, for curbing the publicity and damaging the peaceful policy of the USSR and secondly for covering their militarist aims.

The USSR, with its peace initiatives and proposals of banning nuclear tests, as well as total disarmament till the year 2000, proved the truthfulness of its policy at the international arena.

The USSR extended three times its moratorium for banning nuclear tests and asked the United States to positively reciprocate to its proposals.

The USSR voiced its agreement on the proposal of the six countries of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden concerning the installing of special registration installations as a token of acceptance of the agreement of stopping of nuclear tests in the territories of the six countries.

However, the Washington administration not only failed to give positive response to the proposals of the USSR, but, contrary to the world public opinion, carried on its nuclear tests.

So far, the Soviet Union, despite the elapsing of some time from the term of its moratorium, has not carried out a nuclear test. But the Washington administration, in addition to the previous two tests, will carry out a third nuclear test.

The question is posed that whether the Western countries and the Reagan administration, who have staged deafening rows for the so-called grave consequences of the Chernobyl incident, have thought over the consequences of nuclear tests, its stockpiling, development and drawing of nuclear weapons to the outer space, which is included in the program of the Washington administration. Do they understand that in case of a nuclear war, what catastrophe will be created for the people of the world. The answer is negative. The people of the world are desirous of the banning of nuclear tests and arms race. The rulers of the White House and their militarist accomplices must pay respect to the desire of humanity and positively respond to it.

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CSO: 4600/321



AFGHANISTAN

EDITORIAL CLAIMS NAJIBULLAH TO EXPAND SOVIET INTELLIGENCE

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 6 May 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Moscow Appoints New Chief in Kabul"]

[Text]

*After a month's secret activities as well as political justifications and propaganda schemes, it was announced Sunday that Moscow has put aside Babrak Karmal and assigned a new ruler for Afghanistan. The news was published by the official Soviet news agency (Tass) quoting Afghanistan news agency (Bakhtar). As during the past, the rulers of Kabul are assigned in Moscow and obtain their decree of installment and resignation from Kremlin assuming that Afghanistan is a Soviet state for Moscow!*

*Babrak Karmal who was installed in power by Moscow in 1979, suddenly disappeared from the public scene since the past few months and it was announced subsequently that he was in Moscow for medical treatment. Karmal did not even appear at the key April 27 celebrations of the 1978 Communist seizure of power.*

*To counter rumors that Karmal had been removed, Radio Kabul was forced last week to falsely claim that he was still in power. But reports reaching here from Moscow announced his "resignation" this week.*

*And it is indeed no surprise to hear Radio Kabul claim that Karmal is still the president of Afghanistan because all the decisions pertaining to the present statesmen in Afghanistan are taken in Moscow. The administrators of Radio Kabul are unaware of what is going on behind the closed doors in Kremlin.*

*Any instruction from Moscow to Kabul is carried out to the word by the Kabul statesmen and is*

announced on the state-run radio. And it is not strange for the Kremlin officials to use the term "resignation" instead of removal in the Karmal case. In fact, everybody familiar with the present world's political issues, understands its essence very well.

The installment of Muhammad Najibullah who until recently was head of the Khad secret police with the overall responsibility for state security, is a significant event which can be quite relevant to the future development in Afghanistan.

In the recent years, Moscow has "acted" very hastily in bringing to power K.G.B. agents in Kremlin and delegating them the responsibility of running the Soviet Union's affairs. This tendency is now very obvious in their policy vis-a-vis the Afghanistan rulers.

The assignment of Najibullah as the secretary-general of the central committee of the Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan and his replacement of Karmal shows both Karmal's inability in serving the Soviet interests and the Kremlin leaders' willingness to further activate the intelligence organization of Afghanistan and coordinating it with the Soviet intelligence agency in meeting the future needs of the Russians in Afghanistan.

On the other hand, simultaneously with Karmal's removal, the Geneva conference for mediation between the East and the West on the Afghan issue is held which cannot be irrelevant to Moscow's new decision.

The question that whether Karmal has shown negligence in accepting this compromising plan and thus aroused the wrath of the Kremlin officials or if Moscow felt at the new stage that Karmal is too weak to carry out the plan in a manner favored by the Soviets, is still a pending issue.

However, there are two points which are very evident at this stage: Firstly, through this measure Moscow intimidated the Marxists of Afghanistan and made them understand that they could remain in power as long as they were efficient and faithful to Moscow. Secondly, this step by Moscow indicates the instability of the Soviet policies towards the Afghanistan issue and shows that they have reached a deadlock in this country.

Therefore, the people of Afghanistan will continue their 'holy jihad' against the Soviet occupiers and their stooges more resolutely until the elimination of the domination of foreign powers and the establishment of an Islamic state in Afghanistan.

— Courtesy Jomhuri-e Islami

AFGHANISTAN

FRG TV INTERVIEWS REBEL COMMANDER

DW151138 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1815 GMT 14 May 86

[Interview with Herat Province Commander Allaudin by moderator Gerhard Loewenthal in Dari with superimposed German translation; no place and date given, from the "ZDF-MAGAZIN" program, recorded -DW; all names as heard]

[Text] [Lowenthal] What makes Herat so important for the Soviets?

[Allaudin] The strategic importance of Herat Province lies in the fact that it has a common border with the Soviet Union and Iran. Moreover, the supply line of the Red Army to nine other Aghan provinces crosses Herat. The greatest Soviet military camp is located in Shindand, less than 100 kilometers south of the province capital. The greatest Soviet military airport is also located there, with 400 airplanes. They can reach military targets in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

[Lowenthal] What is the present situation in and around Herat?

[Allaudin] In view of the strategic importance of Herat Province, the Soviets have stationed about 50,000 soldiers and 4,000 tanks and armored vehicles. With those armed forces the Soviets are launching attacks in the provinces of Herat, Farah, Badghis, and Ghor. For some military actions, additional troops are sent from the Soviet border area to Afghanistan. Moreover, the Soviets have built a tank camp in the region of Thorghundi. Those tanks also take part in attacks. Afterwards the Soviet armed forces return to the Soviet Union. In the daytime, villages and the city of Herat are bombed by airplanes. The Soviets are pursuing a scorched earth policy. At night, targets in the villages and in the city are bombarded with guided missiles, which affect mainly residential districts. The situation of the civilian population is getting worse every day. The food supply is catastrophic. The Soviets are trying to expel the civilian population from the province by means of starvation -- the lack of food is very great -- and by random killing. About 45,000 people have been killed by the Soviet attacks so far.

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CSO: 4620/45

BANGLADESH

GOVERNMENT OUTLAWS CAMPAIGNING AGAINST ELECTION

Text of Martial Law

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 4 May 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Chief Martial Law Administrator has issued a Martial Law Regulation namely "Martial Law Regulation No V of 1986" prohibiting anti-election propaganda and activities according to an official handout on Saturday reports BSS.

This has been issued in pursuance of the proclamation of the 24th March 1982 and in exercise of all powers enabling him in that behalf.

Following is the full text of the Martial Law Regulation:

1. This regulation shall have effect notwithstanding anything contained in any other law for the time being in force including any law or order allowing political activities.
2. In this regulation - (a) "document" shall include any painting, drawing, photograph or other visible representation, (b) "elections to parliament" shall mean election to parliament to be held after the commencement of the Regulation. (c) "newspaper" shall mean any periodical work containing public news or comments on public news and includes such other class of periodical works declared to be newspaper by the government under any law for the time being in force.
3. No newspaper or document shall print, publish or contain any news or views against the holdings of elections to parliament or prejudicial to such elections.
4. No person shall (a) make, write, print, publish, distribute, fix, display or carry any leaflet, placard or poster against the holding of elections to parliament (b) propagate by any means any opinion against the holding of elections to parliament (c) organise or participate in any meeting procession or demonstration against the holding of elections to parliament (d) disturb or attempt to disturb any projection meeting procession or gathering for or in favour of election of a candidate to parliament (e) obstruct or attempt to obstruct any person in discharging any duties and performing any functions in

connection with such elections (f) induce any person not to participate or vote in the elections to parliament or obstruct or attempt to obstruct any person in exercising his right of franchise and (g) act in any manner which directly or indirectly hampers or likely to hamper holding of elections to parliament.

5. However, contravenes the provisions of this regulation shall be punishable with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years.

Provided that in the case of contravention of provisions of Paragraph 3, the author, editor, printer and publishers of the newspaper shall be deemed to have contravened the provision so and shall be punished accordingly.

#### Background, Reaction Noted

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 1 May 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The martial law regime of President Ershad swept into prompt action imposing a ban on all anti-poll activities in the wake of a massive public meeting of the BNP at the Baitul Mukarram Square last Tuesday.

A martial law order issued that night said that the restriction on the anti-election programs would come into force with immediate effect. This forced the national press to black out the speech of the opposition leaders and the next course of action announced at the rally.

With barely a week left for the scheduled parliamentary polls on May 7 the ban came into force to ensure that the election race could continue undisturbed without any anti-poll camp in the field.

President Ershad in his address to the nation on March 21, which led to the overnight somersault of the Awami League and its allies, had warned that if the political parties failed to announce their participation in the scheduled polls the government would crack down on all anti-election activities from the following morning.

But the action was withheld with the decision of participation by a faction of the 15-party alliance led by the Awami League and the political ministers at that time had ruled out the possibility of such a clamp-down.

But the sudden reaction of the government manifested in the imposition of ban on anti-polls activities has deepened the confusion in the mind of the people. The government step may help an undisturbed sailing of the "boat" unhindered by the opposition of the government-backed Jatiyo Party.

The electioneering has already been marked by the blood of political workers. With every passing day more and more bullets are being fired in the pro-election camps, campaign camps are being ransacked and set ablaze, and clashes between the contesting political parties, particularly the Jatiyo Party and Awami League, are increasing.

Unidentified assailants gunned down a former MP of the Awami League from Narsigndi, Rabiul Awal Kiron, on Monday night when he was returning from an election meeting for the



8-party candidate in his constituency. Shots were fired in Gopalganj on a procession led by Awami League leader and candidate Sheikh Selim who escaped unhurt. Acting general secretary of the Awami League, Sajeda Choudhury was attacked in her house in Faridpur where she was staying. An Awami League local leader was hospitalized with bullet injury when his procession was attacked in Mirpur in which Kamal Hossain of the Awami League is contesting Jatiyo Party leader S.A. Khaleq. Former minister and Jatiyo Party candidate Salahuddin Qader Choudhury was rescued unhurt when he was attacked by a mob at a projection meeting in Chittagong but his car damaged and Noor Mohammad Khan, another Jatiyo Party candidate was wounded in polls violence in Tangail.

Meanwhile, in the face of a volley of attacks from President Ershad and attacks on her candidates on the field 8-party and Awami League leader Sheikh Hasina came out with a threat at a meeting in Pirojpur that she would forcibly occupy the Jatiyo Sangsad (Parliament) if the government tried to forge the election results.

Such a pre-emptive threat seems to prove that she is still doubtful about the fairness of the upcoming polls and is keeping the door open for a movement if the post-election situation demands so.

It is learnt that the Awami League has instructed its workers and supporters at different levels to keep vigilance on the polling stations and keep them under their control. It has also instituted a case with the Election Commission against Presi-

dent Ershad for "violation of his promise to maintain neutrality in the election."

The fundamentalist force Jamaat-e-Islami, which is participating in the election, has also questioned the neutrality of President Ershad and the administration.

As pledged by the government, the radio and television network have already started projection broadcasts for the political parties which have fielded a minimum of 30 candidates in the contest. But the authorities concerned refused to broadcast the policy speech of Jamaat. Chief Abbas Ali Khan without the desired changes, he alleged.

A total of 28 political parties out of 120 officially recognized parties are taking part in the May 7 parliamentary elections. Seven of them are putting up one candidate each, while 447 are contesting the polls as independents and 70 of them have been expelled from the government-backed Jatiyo Party on charge of violation of party decision.

Kader Siddiky, popularly known as Tiger Siddiky who has been staying in India since the 1975 change-over was also nominated by the Awami League as its candidate. But his candidature was rejected on the ground that he was convicted and punished by a court.

It is learnt that the Awami League floated him as a candidate on the basis of an earlier government assurance and created pressure on the government to keep its word.

In May last year President Ershad had sent a letter to Kader Siddiky appreciating his role in the independence war and said, "I believe that irrespective of

opinions all are patriots. Differences of opinion do not signify anti-state activity." The President regretted that the country was deprived of a devoted soul and valiant freedom fighter like him in this critical hour.

The letter was reproduced in a Bengali daily of Calcutta. The daily hinted that there was an idea to rehabilitate Kader Siddiky, but it was dropped later for some reasons.

/13104

CSO: 4600/1739

BANGLADESH

REPORT ON DELEGATES ADDRESS TO ESCAP MEETING

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 8 May 86 p 4

[Text] Bangladesh, one of the eight least developed countries (LDCs) in Asia and the Pacific, Wednesday appealed for greater resource assistance and trade liberalisation, reports BSS.

M K. Anwar, leader of the Bangladesh delegation addressing the 42nd session of the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), said that while the net inflow of external resources has declined for nearly all developing ESCAP countries, its impact has been most severe on the LDCs in the region.

"Without significant increase in concessional ODA (Official Development Assistance) flows with appropriate mix of balance of payments support and local cost financing" he said, "the LDCs have little chance of resuming economic growth".

He said that implementation of the substantive new programme of action for LDCs in the 1980s has been "a disappointing record." There are now 40 LDCs as compared to 31 in 1981, when the programme was adopted, and more may join the category soon, he said.

Earlier, Sams Kibria, Executive Secretary of ESCAP in his keynote address said that faster development, more jobs and less poverty "are all related to remedies for this regions's common dilemma of too few skilled people and too many unskilled.

Facing similar shortages of technologically adept manpower, regional countries could usefully cooperate in meeting the urgent need to upgrade the abilities of our people to develop, adopt and apply technology, he said.

Mr Kibria highlighted the developmental importance of the technological aspects of human resources development, which is the special focus and key policy issue being taken up by the commission this year.

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CSO: 4600/1746

BANGLADESH

## REPORTAGE ON GOVERNMENT RELATIONS WITH BEGUM ZIA

### Zia Remarks to Press

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 5 May 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The suspense and mystery surrounding Begum Khaleda Zia's disappearance from public view since late Wednesday evening ended when the BNP Chief appeared before the Dhaka Bar Library on Sunday noon.

She told newsmen at the Bar Library that she was forcibly taken to a house at Savar and kept there under confinement till she was dropped near the Savar National Mausoleum at about 12 noon on Sunday.

She drove straight to Dhaka District Court Bar from the Mausoleum by an autorickshaw to seek the "protection of law".

But a highly placed Government source who preferred to maintain anonymity said that "Begum Zia was never under government custody". The same source claimed that she was hiding under her own choice to create 'confusion' in people's minds.

When her attention was drawn to Government clarification that she was not under detention she said, "why should I go on hiding. I have never done it before. I was arrested twice before and who forcibly took me away I cannot say."

Addressing the members of the Bar Begum Zia said that her party always desired rule of law in the country and establishment of democracy. She told the Bar that she was demanding bails of the party leaders who have been detained. She also demanded the immediate release of all political leaders including those of Seven-Party Alliance.

On hearing of Begum Zia's presence at Dhaka Bar Library hundreds of people from the surrounding area flocked to the library building to have a glimpse and hear her.

She said that her party or the Seven-Party Alliance were never opposed to elections but had only set some conditions to make the elections meaningful. She said that it was a matter of regret that free expression of opinion which are absolutely essential for the growth of democratic institutions were not being allowed.

Begum Zia said under democratic dispensation she must have the right to explain to the people the reasons behind not joining the elections. This right is as much inalienable as the right to speak in favour of elections she asserted. This is what democracy should be, she said.

Begum Zia said that suppressions of views and widespread arrests do not go hand in hand with democracy. She thanked all those who had demanded her release from the 'detention'. She called upon the people to fight for the realisation of five-point demand and restated her commitment to stand by the people in their struggle against injustice.

Narrating her experiences of the four-day confinement she said that she was in one-storied building which is in a lonely place. The place might be somewhere near Savar. Asked if the place was near the National Mausoleum Begum Zia said "It won't be too far". She was out of contact even with her two sons, she said.

Asked if she could make telephonic contacts with any of her party leaders during the four-day she said, "no". She said that she did not know what had happened to her transport which she used for her return from Jamalpur after addressing

a meeting there on April 30 last. Asked if she could identify the people who detained her and other party leaders she said that they were in plain clothes. She said that their cars were blocked near Kaliakoir and were told to go to the Kaliakoir Police Station. At the police station the male members except Wing Commander (Retd) Hamidullah who was driving her car were held. She along with Mrs Roushan Elahi and Prof. Jahanara were allowed to leave for Dhaka she said. Later her car was again intercepted by some people in plain clothes Begum Zia and Prof. Jahanara were taken to a place together. Later they were separated she claim.

Begum Zia who was looking exhausted said that during her "confinement" she was served good food and nobody misbehaved with her. Begum Jahanara however, told newsmen that she took a chance to talk to Farida Rahman from Kaliakoir about their detention.

Begum Zia said late President

Ziaur Rahman had respect for the people and in return he also got their love and respect. Asked where she would go from the Bar Library she said, "to my home". She left the Bar Library at around 3.37 p.m. by a car bearing number Dhaka GA-4809. She said that she requested for release of her brother-in-law Ahmed Kamal whom she described as a non-political man.

But she got no reply about Kamal she said. Begum Zia narrating her experiences of confinement said that when she accompanied by Mrs. Roushan Elahi Prof. Jahanara and Commander (Retd) Hamidullah were allowed to leave Kaliakoir she demanded police escort. But no such arrangement was made and it was late night. Later their car was intercepted by a truck and by a separate car she along with Prof. Jahanara Begum were taken to a home in Savar leaving behind Wing Commander (Retd) Hamidullah and Mrs Roushan Elahi she said.

#### Hamidullah Statement Reported

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 5 May 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Wing-Commander (Retd.) M. Hamidullah Khan, Office Secretary of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), in a written statement last (Sunday) night gave details of his and BNP chief Khaleda Zia's whereabouts during the last few days reports BSS.

Mr. Hamidullah was arrested early Sunday morning from a house of his relation at Gulshan. The statement was distributed by him among a group of journalists who visited him at the Police Control Room in Dhaka.

Wing Commander Hamidullah said he was asked to accompany Begum Zia in her Jamalpur tour on April 30 along with Justice T. H. Khan, Barrister Abdus Salam Talukder, Mr. Ahmed Nasir, Prof. Jahanara Begum, Mrs. Roushan Elahi, Mr. Rezabullah Chowdhury, Mr. Ahmed Kamal and Mr. Shamsuddin. Since there was lack of accommodation in their car, he said, a driver could not

be taken and he himself drove the car. Later, of course, he said, another car (Subaru) from an office accompanied them but there was no time to take another driver with them.

The BNP leader, Mr. Hamidullah said Begum Zia and her companions started for Dhaka after dusk at the end of their programme at Dhanbari, Sarisabari and Jamalpur. He said as they reached Kaliakoir at 11 p.m. (April 30) their cars were stopped near the Kaliakoir police station by police. The cars were separated and the male companions were brought out of the cars. "Since I was driving the car of Begum I was asked to stay inside the vehicle," he said and added, after 20 to 30 minutes later, "we were permitted to leave for Dhaka."

Wing Commander Hamidullah said at the time of their departure for Dhaka from Kaliakoir Thana, police told Begum Zia that the male members who were arrested would be sent



to Tongi police station. She took from them (police) the telephone numbers of Tongi and Joydevpur police stations.

The Wing Commander in his statement said when they reached Joydevpur Begum Zia wanted to know whether it would be possible to phone from somewhere. In reply, he said it was possible from the 'Globe Insecticide Factory' of his younger brother near the Board Bazar and decision was taken to go to the factory to make telephone calls.

Wing Commander Hamidullah said Prof. Jahanara made some telephone calls from the Globe Factory and informed them that one car was coming to them. Jahanara also informed that their companions who were arrested "have not reached the destination" according to phone numbers given by police, he said.

Then, the Wing Commander said he asked his driver to come with his car as he felt insecure to go to the Cantonment with Begum Zia's car.

The BNP Office Secretary said within an hour both the cars (belonging to Prof. Jahanara and Hamidullah) reached the Globe Factory.

He said Begum Zia accompanied by Prof. Jahanara and Mrs. Roushan Elahi left the factory in the white coloured Publica car of Prof. Jahanara. The car was being driven by a middle-aged gentleman who was accompanied by two boys, Wing Commander said, adding:

"I do not know the gentleman". Mr. Hamidullah said he had asked them to telephone him after reaching their destination and took also the telephone number of the place (where Begum Zia was going).

The Wing Commander in his statement said when he did not receive any telephone call till 3 a.m. he rang up the number and an unknown gentleman from the other side of the phone informed him that the

"ladies have reached safely".

"When I wanted to know of the place (where the ladies reached) the gentleman refrained from answering me and after thanking him I went to the bed," he said.

Wing Commander Hamidullah said he also asked his driver to go to sleep.

He said after getting up at eight the following morning he decided not to go to his Cantonment residence. Because, he said he was apprehending that he would "certainly be arrested like my companions" if he returned home, his family "would be in great distress". The driver was asked by him (Hamidullah) to go back to his house with the car, the Wing Commander added.

Wing-Commander Hamidullah said he then went to the Gulshan residence of Advocate Nurun Nabi, husband of Mrs. Hamidullah's eldest sister by a mini-truck of the Globe Factory.

Before going to Gulshan, he said he instructed his car driver to reach Begum Zia's car at her residence.

Wing-Commander Hamidullah said before he was arrested early Sunday morning he did contact neither any political leader of the country including Begum Zia nor his friends. He did not come out of the house even, Hamidullah said.

After reading out the statement Wing-Commander Hamidullah replied to questions from journalists and said he did "not make the statement under duress" but of his own.

Replying to a question he said there was "no harassment" on him under the police custody.

The Wing-Commander said he did not contact his wife during his hideout as he feared that his whereabouts might then be leaked out.

Home Ministry Press Note

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 5 May 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The following Press Note was issued on Sunday by the Ministry of Home Affairs:

"Attention of the Government has been drawn to certain statements made by Begum Khaleda Zia today. Her story is entirely concocted and absolutely unfounded and is an attempt to cover up her own lapses by keeping herself mysteriously hidden for the last three days. The statements made by a leader like her have surprised the government. Government is certain that it will not be possible to mislead the people by such baseless stories."

/13104

CSO: 4600/1737

BANGLADESH

## PAPERS REPORT ON AID FROM ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

### Report Shows Decline

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 28 Apr 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) approved loans amounting to 212.3 million US dollars for six projects in Bangladesh from the Asian Development Fund (ADF) last year compared to 306.8 million dollars approved in 1984, according to the Bank's annual report released recently, reports BSS.

During the period the Bank also provided 59.8 million dollars as local currency financing for three projects, which is equivalent to 28.2 per cent of the total lending. Co-financing with the UNDP and Government of France amounted to 10.5 million dollars in four projects.

The report said, a programme loan of 39 million dollars for provision of fertilizers was also approved during the period.

Of the six projects approved, three were in agriculture sector and one each in power, transport and industry sectors.

In the agriculture sector, the second livestock development project, the report said, is aimed at increasing food production and improving rural incomes through the expansion of veterinary services and on-farm livestock nutrition.

Provision of fertilizer under the fourth crop intensification programme loan is also expected to help increase incremental output by about 1.6 million metric tons.

A loan for the rural and agro-based industries credit project supports the country's objective of raising agricultural production, rural incomes and employment through increased private sector investments in the rural and agro-based industries, the report said.

In the transport sector, the report said, the feeder-road project will help provide year-round reliable transport through 310 kilometres of rural roads located in the northern part of the country.

Of the nine technical assistance grants approved in 1985 for an amount of 7.5 million dollars, two were advisory and operational and seven were project preparatory. Five of the technical assistance projects were in agriculture sector, two in the power sector and one each in gas and transport sector.

Till December 31, 1985 the Bank had approved 66 loans to Bangladesh amounting to 1,838.6 million US dollars for 60 projects. Of this amount 1,827.2 million dollars was from the Asian Development Fund and the rest 11.4 million dollars from other sources.

The Bank had also provided technical assistance amounting to 34.3 million dollars for 79 projects of which 35 had resulted in bank loans amounting to 1,169 million dollars. The Bank had extended six programme loans amounting to 163.3 million dollars and three sector loans for 207 million dollars to Bangladesh. Of the total Bank lending to the country's agriculture and agro-based industry received the largest share (49.3 per cent), education (3.1 per cent), public health (2.3 per cent) and water supply (0.8 per cent).

(Incomplete)

# Statement to Board

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 1 May 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Finance Adviser M Syed-uzzaman has urged the Asian Development Bank (ADB) to provide full financing of the projects including the local cost to its developing member countries (DMC), reports BSS.

Making a statement at the 19th annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the ADB in Manila yesterday, the Finance Adviser said to pass on the full benefit of local cost financing to the least developed DMCs the bank should consider making advance payments for reducing ways and means problems of government in executing projects.

Mr Syeduzzaman reiterated that bank should provide domestic price preference as done by the World Bank. The DMCs must be allowed a preference when it comes to meeting a domestic demand, he said.

He said the price preference of ten per cent for locally manufactured goods now being considered by the bank was inadequate and it should be further improved as per the level of World Bank and the IDA.

The adviser said though the recent disbursement by the bank had been quite encouraging but all sectors were not equally responsive to the quicker disbursement need. He pointed out utilisation of ADB funds for agriculture was still low in spite of its being priority sector in the most DMCs including Bangladesh.

Delays in implementation occurs in considerable measures for conditionalities which the bank insists on, he said adding the existing procedures for project approval need to be seriously evaluated in terms of faster project implementation.

Even retaining its effective supervisory control, the bank

may need to devise means for simplifying decision making process by restructuring conditionalities and delegate authority to missions and local office whenever applicable, he said.

Mr Syeduzzaman said there was strong evidence that conditionalities relating to agricultural inputs were having adverse impact on agricultural production. He said slowdown in economic growth in some of the DMCs points to the need for taking cautious view of the lending operations in the rest of the decade.

He said the bank on every possible opportunity seeks policy changes and adjustments from the DMCs and added we have no doubt the bank will also strive for changes and adjustments in its own mode of operation as dictated by its own analysis.

The adviser cautioned that the bank effort to conduct 'policy dialogue' with the DMCs should not turn into a 'policy monologue'.

Mr Syeduzzaman also called for taking effective steps for implementation of the Bank's policy of encouraging local consultants in the ADB financed development projects.

The adviser reiterated the call for Asian Development Fund (ADF) five replenishment to a level which would meet the requirement of the LDC member countries.

He also welcomed the inclusion of China as a member of the bank and said her membership would undoubtedly enrich the institution by ensuring participation of one billion people of the region with great tradition and strengthen the cooperative effort for development.

## Finance Minister Meets Press

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 5 May 86 p 8

[Text]

Bangladesh is expected receive 1,400 million dollars from Asian Development Fund (ADF)-Five over the next four years, Finance Adviser M. Syeduzzaman said in Dhaka on Sunday.

Talking to BSS on his return after attending the 19th annual meeting of the Board of Governors of Asian Development Bank (ADB) in Manila, the Finance Adviser said the amount was

40 per cent of the total ADF-Five Fund.

He said Bangladesh had substantially improved disbursement of the ADF funds in 1985 which was nearly double that of 1984. Bangladesh is expected to receive more local financing and more programme and sector loans from the ADB, he said.

Mr. Syeduruzaman said that priority would be given to four areas in the ADB's lending programme for Bangladesh. The areas are agriculture and food production, energy development, infrastructure development and industrial development.

Elaborating, he said the support for industrial development was expected to come through the development financial institutions (DFI's). But, he said, this will depend on improvement of the recovery and performance of the DFI's, their greater autonomy of operations and association of the private sector in the share holding and management of the DFI's.

The Finance Adviser said that major share holders of the ADB put much greater emphasis on privatisation for ADF support than anytime before.

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CSO: 4600/1737



BANGLADESH

BORDER TROOPS DEPUTY DIRECTOR CLAIMS SUCCESS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 5 May 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] May 4: The Deputy Director General of Bangladesh Rifles Brigadier Muhammad Anwar Hussain today said the BDR Jawans had not only succeeded in guarding the country's frontiers but were also effectively carrying on anti-smuggling drive along the borders, reports BSS.

Despite all limitations the BDR Jawans showed indomitable courage and firm determination to protect every inch of Bangladesh borders, he added, according to an official press release.

The BDR Deputy Director General was addressing the passing out parade of 35th batch of BDR recruits at Bangladesh Rifles Training Institute at Baitul Izzat, about 40 miles from here.

Earlier he took the salute of smartly turned-out batch of recruits of the BDR Training School Parade Ground. Rifles Training School Commandant Lt Col Kazi Munibur Bahrian was present on the occasion.

In all 580 recruits divided in four companies completed their 24-week-long training at the BDR Training School.

The BDR Deputy Director General recalled the glorious role played by the BDR Jawans in attaining success at the expeditions at Kurigram, Asaiong and Luxmiper. He hoped that the newly passed out Jawans would [words illegible] from the sacrifices and [word missing] of their predecessors. He called upon them to uphold the prestige of BDR through their [ ? ] and hard labour and thereby to earn the confidence and love of the people.

/12223

CSO: 4600/1737

BANGLADESH

## DETAILS OF PROPOSED SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SCHOOL

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 1 May 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The proposed university at Sylhet will be named Shah Jalal University of Science and Technology, Sylhet.

The recommendation was made in the report submitted by a four-member committee formed in this connection with the University Grants Commission Chairman Prof. Mohammad Abdul Bari as the head.

The committee was entrusted with the responsibility of submitting recommendations on the site selection and outlines of the university curricula.

The committee submitted its report to the government on April 18 and on April 28 a copy of the report was submitted to the President at the CMLA Secretariat.

The report said, for the time being, the university would be functioning as a teaching-cum-affiliating university. After the setting up of an affiliating university, the Shah Jalal University will be turned exclusively into a teaching and research university. Sylhet, Moulvibazar, Habiganj and Sunamganj districts and other areas as specified by the government would come under its jurisdiction.

Regarding the site selection the committee report said the campus would be situated on the Sylhet-Sunamganj Highway and within eight kilometres of the Sylhet district headquarters. It will be located to the west of the Bangladesh Rifles camp on a 350-acre plot of land. The committee also requested the Sylhet district administration to go ahead with the land acquisition and fixing the boundary of the plot. An office of the Sylhet University Project Director will be set up immediately.

In the Third Five-Year Plan an allocation of Taka 10 crore has been provided for the Sylhet university project. The committee recommended for re-

source allocation on a priority basis to facilitate the University Grants Commission and the planning cell of the Education Ministry to prepare the project profile of the university on a priority basis. The committee also asked the University Grants Commission to submit a proposal for resource allocation for the initial works to be done within the current fiscal year that ends on June 30, this year.

The office of the project director will be situated at Sylhet and a project director will be appointed soon.

The committee also made recommendations for framing necessary legislations to set up the university.

The university curriculum will be offered in seven broad classifications. Each of the classifications will be named a school. There will be school of basic science, school of life sciences, school of agriculture and mineral sciences, school of applied science and technology, school of social sciences, school of management and business administration and school of modern languages.

In the school of basic sciences physics, chemistry, mathematics, statistics and other relevant subjects will be taught. School of life sciences will comprise botany, zoology, genetics, bio-chemistry, bio-technology, pharmacy and allied subjects.

The school of agriculture and mineral sciences will engage itself in the teaching of crop science, fisheries, mineralogy and the like. School of applied science and technology will teach subjects like engineering, electronics, computers, renewable and other energy sources. School of social science will include economics, sociology, demography, mass communication, geography and other subjects.

BANGLADESH

WATERS TALKS DELEGATE ON URGENCY OF SOLUTION

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 28 Apr 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Mr B.M. Abbas A.T. has said Nepal, India and Bangladesh should immediately launch a joint programme for development and equitable distribution of water resources of the Ganges basin.

"It is necessary they discuss the matter urgently at minister level in order to bring out an agreed political decision of the governments to launch a joint programme for the water resources development in the Ganges basin", the eminent water resources expert told a seminar in city yesterday.

Mr Abbas referred to the offer by King Birendra of Nepal at the SAARC summit in Dhaka of his country's vast untapped water resources for the benefit of this region and subsequent affirmation of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of his willingness to discuss jointly with Nepal and Bangladesh augmentation of dry season flow of the Ganges.

He said besides providing large economic benefits to the millions of people living in the region, integrated river basin development would ensure an equitable distribution of water resources among countries of the basin.

Such a common programme of development would bring the countries closer, foster good relationship and bring peace and stability in the region through greater understanding of each other's national imperatives, he added.

Mr Abbas suggested setting up of a committee of experts drawn from the three countries which may be named 'the Gan-

ges Committee' as a first step in cooperative development of the Ganges river basin. The committee would work as a coordinating body for the three countries for comprehensive development of water and related resources of the basin. It would also serve as a forum for consultation among member governments.

He felt experts and scholars of this region could help in the matter by setting up a non-official body for an in-depth examination of the problem. It could assess the social environmental, economic, political and human benefits that would accrue to each nation and the region as a whole through water resources cooperation, he said.

Apprehending a grim future in the absence of necessary flow of water in the rivers, Mr. Abbas said the three countries should urgently take up integrated programme for development of the waters of the Ganges basin to avert a serious impact on agriculture and ecology.

He said the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission have been discussing sharing of nine out of fiftyfour common rivers, "As discussions are continuing, the flow of water in our rivers are declining posing a life and death question for us."

Mr Abbas who was involved in water sharing talks with India for more than two decades, observed that this unending discussions would not bring any good to us. What we needed most was awareness of the people who would mount pressure on the leadership for a political direc-

tion towards resolving the problem.

As for realisation of Bangladesh's just share of the Ganges water, he observed "It seems our logic and argument have lost force and the people are somewhat frustrated...the nation was now advancing to a suicidal course".

He questioned the utility of the 1982 Ganges water agreement with India which had deleted the pertinent clause of the previous agreement. "What is the use of such agreement? Does the government want to control floods or develop the economy?"

It seems this has been done to satisfy the other side (India), he added.

Mr. Abbas expressed the hope bilateral issues would come up in the SAARC. "Gradually circumstances may arise when bilateral problems will become unbearable" for the member countries, he said.

While drawing a comparison between economic importance of the proposed bridge over the Jamuna and barrage over the Brahmaputra, Mr Abbas gave more emphasis on the latter and said construction of the barrage should be given the priority.

He dwelt at length on his bitter experience of negotiations with India on sharing of the Ganges water. He said the protracted dialogue which started in 1951 has not benefitted Bangladesh. Instead, Bangladesh has lost the bulk of the dry season flow of the Ganges as well as the flows of other rivers. India was now trying to take waters of the Brahmaputra

to the Ganges through a canal over Bangladesh.

The seminar on "Water resources development in the Ganges and Brahmaputra river basins" was organised by the Bangladesh Unnayan Parishad. Presided over by parishad's acting Chairman Dr M Asaduzzaman, the seminar was participated by a number of water resources experts including Mr Siddiqui, Mr Nisbat, Mr Abdul Jalil and Mr Shahjahan.

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CSO: 4600/1737

INDIA

## CONGRESS-I EXPELS FORMER MINISTER, SUSPENDS OTHERS

Madras THE HINDU in English 28 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 27.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, acting swiftly to stamp out a threat of inner party revolt, today expelled the former Union Finance Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, from the Congress (I) for six years and suspended Mr. A. P. Sharma, Mr. Sripathi Mishra and Mr. Prakash Mehrotra from the party organisation.

### Two-pronged policy

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and his advisers are following a two-pronged policy of placating harmless Congress (I) elders like Mr. Kamalapati Tripathi, by seeking their advice on party matters, while singling out those who are capable of fomenting dissent for disciplinary action.

It is in pursuance of this policy that the Congress (I) Vice-President, Mr. Arjun Singh, and the General Secretary, Mr. G. K. Moopanar, were sent to Mr. Tripathi to listen to his complaints about enrolment of bogus members and ask for his suggestions on how to deal with this problem.

The Congress (I) President is reported to have asked Mr. Arjun Singh to keep the Working President fully informed of the party activities and seek his guidance in matters where his advice would be helpful in tackling them. The purpose of this solicitude for the sensitivities of this octogenarian leader, after ignoring him all these months, is to mollify and wean him away from those who are suspected to be using him as a front man in their current campaign against Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's style of leadership and choice of his colleagues.

### Hierarchy's wrath

The whole wrath of the ruling hierarchy is now directed against persons like Mr. Pranab Mukherjee who are suspected to be master-minding the campaign. The Prime Minister is being urged by some of his advisers to issue some sort of show-cause notice to several others and

in the absence of satisfactory assurances of loyalty, take disciplinary action against the defiant ones among them.

It is too early yet to visualise whether Mr. Rajiv Gandhi would agree to take this extreme step against such persons without trying out other methods of dealing with them. But he seems to be in favour of the broad strategy of placating Mr. Tripathi to wean him away from aggrieved persons like Mr. Mukherjee, who might try to create trouble at an opportune moment.

This policy of wielding both the carrot and the stick also envisages some kind of gestures to rehabilitate a few of the disgruntled party leaders either at the Centre or in their home States. A few marginal elements who are not openly identified with the current campaign against Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's style of functioning might be inducted into the Central and State Cabinets under the guise of providing a more balanced representation to all sections of opinion.

Mr. Mukherjee returned to the capital today amidst reports that the dissidents are planning to hold a meeting in early May to mobilise support for their campaign. After he conferred with the former Governor and Minister, Mr. A. P. Sharma, Mr. Prakash Mehrotra, former U.P. Chief Minister, Mr. Sripathi Mishra and others, he met Mr. Tripathi later tonight.

One does not know when the organisational elections will be held. But the party leadership does not want to allow the dissidents to fight these elections in the name of restoring inner-party democracy, which could create problems.

/12828

CSO: 4600/1707



INDIA

## GOVERNMENT FORMS NEW POLICY ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Apr 86 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 26.

The Government today announced the formation of a Policy Advisory Committee headed by Mr. G. Parthasarathy, to analyse and assess major international developments, political, strategic and economic. It will report to the Prime Minister and make recommendations on the policy options.

The committee which replaces the Policy Planning Committee of the External Affairs Ministry will have a much larger function as a think tank; it will assess on a continuing basis major international developments, economic trends, changes in security environments and their linkages with national interests. The objective is to ensure that the Government's response contributes to evolution of integrated policies.

According to an official announcement, the committee has been set up: (i) To provide an analytical background to India's world view and to assess major developments so as to ensure that our responses are purposeful and within the framework of an integrated national policy and (ii) to make periodic assessment of potentially critical situations so that the policy making process is able to anticipate problems.

The chairman of the committee will be associated with the framing of current policies and will perform such other functions as may be assigned to him by the Prime Minister from time to time.

**Special invitees:** In addition to nine members, including Ministers of State for External Affairs, Internal Security and Defence Production, there will be special invitees depending on the topics discussed by the committee.

The committee will draw upon information and expertise available in the relevant Ministries and agencies of the Central Government. The committee will be

served by a small Secretariat.

Mr. Parthasarathy will have the rank of Cabinet Minister as was the case when he headed the Policy Planning Committee. As was clear from the official announcement, the Chairman will have some additional functions—he will be associated with the framing of current policies and deal with matters entrusted to him by the Prime Minister.

The committee will meet once a month.

**No parallel:** An official spokesman explained that there was no parallel between the advisory committee and the National Security Council in the U.S., the latter being a statutory body with executive powers. The Advisory Committee, according to him, was considered necessary because pressures of day-to-day working made it difficult for the Government machinery to make long-term assessment and coordinate policies.

The membership of the committee was compact, but it would, he said, consult the Secretaries concerned and official and non-official experts. The committee, it was pointed out, would provide inputs on international developments, political, economic and strategic. Because of the enlarged scope of the new committee's functions, it was decided to attach it to the Cabinet Secretariat and not to any particular Ministry.

The Policy Planning Committee, earlier headed by Mr. Parthasarathy, included the Foreign Secretary, Secretary of Economic Affairs, Secretary (East) in the External Affairs Ministry, Additional Secretary (Political), former chief of the Research and Analysis Wing of the Cabinet Secretariat, Mr. R. N. Kao and Mr. A. K. Damodaran, former diplomat, Member-Secretary. Mr. Damodaran is a member of the new committee.

/12851

CSO: 4600/1704

INDIA

## FINANCE MINISTER ANNOUNCES MORE DUTY CONCESSIONS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Apr 86 pp.1, 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 24.

**T**HE finance minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, today announced in the Lok Sabha a series of concessions, including a reduction in excise duty on refined mustard oil, from Rs. 1,500 per metric tonne to Rs. 750.

Moving the finance bill, Mr. Singh said full exemption from excise duty had also been provided in respect of carded wool, paper splints for matches, paper lables, bamboo, ice, jute bags made from duty-paid yarn, resins and turpentine made without the aid of power and rubber balloons.

The excise exemption had also been provided for 'made-up' articles produced on welt pile knitting machines and cotton bvelting of width not exceeding 15 cm and not containing any plastic materials.

The finance minister also provided for a reduction in excise duty in respect of wooden furniture from 24 per cent to 15 per cent and kerosene pressure lanterns and parts from 35 per cent to 15 per cent.

Mr. Singh clarified that income-tax authorities had the power to raid and search residential premises after getting permission from the appropriate authority. But the power to collect the prescribed information for purposes of survey would be restricted to business premises only.

### GREAT INCONVENIENCE

Initially, it was proposed to extend the authority of survey inspectors to residential premises also. But it was pointed out that this would create a great deal of inconvenience. Mr. Singh said it was for this reason that powers

of survey inspectors had been restricted to business premises only.

Mr. Singh also proposed to reduce and levy the excise duty at a specific and concessional rate of Rs. 4,000 per truck for goods transport and at the rate of Rs. 8,000 per unit for other type of bodies.

The relief from excise duty in respect of goods captively consumed was being extended in respect of additional areas of industry.

Additional duty of excise on embroidered cotton fabrics was restored to the earlier level equal to the duty paid on the base fabrics, if not already paid.

In respect of larger paper mills using at least 50 per cent unconventional raw materials, the excise duty was being reduced from ten per cent plus Rs. 850 per metric tonne to ten per cent plus Rs. 700 per metric tonne.

Small-scale units had represented for enhancing the exemption limit for taking out a central excise licence. The limit was being raised from Rs. 5 lakhs to Rs. 10 lakhs.

A separate specific excise rate of Rs. 300 per typewriter had been provided in respect of portable typewriters, where the carriage size did not exceed 25 cm. In respect of other manual typewriters, the specific rate of duties were being suitably modified.

The duty from 35 per cent ad valorem was being reduced to 25 per cent ad valorem in respect of plastic films, including cellular films but excluding polyurethane foam.

For smaller manufacturers of leather cloth with a turnover not exceeding Rs. 1.5 crores, excise duty had been reduced by 50 per cent for the first clearance of 300,000 sq metres.

Specific rate of customs duty of Rs. 10,500 per metric tonne, in respect of PVC resins mainly, has been raised to

Ra. 15,000 per metric tonne in respect of PVC paste grade and PVC battery grade resins.

#### REVENUE SACRIFICE

The revenue sacrifice involved in respect of the post-budget exemptions and amendments was Ra. 79 crores on excise duty and Ra. 2.9 crores on customs duty.

In respect of exempted self-occupied property, which had been acquired or constructed with borrowed funds, deduction of interest upto Ra. 5,000 would be admissible.

The proposal to delete section 80-M of the Income-Tax Act relating to deduction in respect of inter-corporate dividends, was being withdrawn.

The scheme of tea development account applicable to the tea industry would be brought on par with the new provision relating to investment deposit account.

Moving for consideration the finance bill, 1986, which would give effect to the 1986-87 budget proposals, Mr. Singh said another area where relief by way of set-off of excise duty and/or additional customs duty, as the case may be, would be available was in respect of urea going into the manufacture of urea formaldehyde resins.

The set-off would also be available for certain organic chemicals going into the manufacture of textile fibres and yarns; acrylonitrile used in the manufacture of acrylic fibre and certain other goods used in the manufacture of paper and paper board and starch used in the manufacture of modified starch and other starches.

#### INVESTMENT ALLOWANCE

The finance minister also proposed that benefit of carry forward and set-off

of the unabsorbed portion of investment allowance would be admissible even if a taxpayer had claimed the benefit of investment deposit account.

He said the deduction relating to the investment deposit scheme was allowable if the deposit was made or any amount was utilised for the purchase of a ship out of income chargeable to tax as profits and gains from business or profession.

In order to ensure uniformity in the manner of determining such profits for the purposes of claiming this tax benefit and also to rescue the area of possible litigation, it was proposed to define the term "profits" in this regard.

#### CAPITAL GAINS

The bill seeks to amend section 80-T of the Income-Tax Act relating to deduction in respect of long-term capital gains in the case of assesses other than companies.

It is proposed to further provide that gold, bullion and jewellery will henceforth also be treated on a par with buildings or lands for capital gains. The redundant proviso to section 80-T, regarding a ceiling on the deduction, was being deleted.

Mr. Singh promised that measures to introduce a system of allowing depreciation in respect of blocks or assets, instead of the present system of depreciation on individual assets, would be made effective from April 2, 1987. The scheme would be implemented through a separate amendment bill.

Similarly, his proposal to allow a deduction in respect of medical expenses by self-employed persons would be implemented through a separate amendment bill.

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CSO: 4600/1701

INDIA

INDIA-PAKISTAN ARMS RACE COMPLEXITIES, BACKGROUND REVIEWED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 May 86 p 2

[Article by Erhard Haubold: "Arms Race on the Subcontinent"]

[Text] Heavy "Bofors" howitzers from Sweden (the order is said to be worth DM 3 billion), one used aircraft carrier ("Hermes") and helicopters from Great Britain, submarines from the FRG, French "Mirage" jet fighters, probably Soviet MiG planes of the latest series 29, and much more: India is spending so much for defense this year that one can justly speak of an arms race. It is a matter of catching up with the potential arch enemy, Pakistan, whose location adjoining Afghanistan, in Indian eyes, gives it at least two advantages: thanks to Western financial aid, the Zia regime has managed to stay in office for an undeservedly long time, and many of the weapons delivered by the United States can't even be used in Afghanistan and are, therefore, directed against their neighbor on the subcontinent.

Among the major goals of Indian defense policy is the build-up of the Navy, which is not only to guard the coast but also to be able to move freely in the Indian Ocean (where the no longer unimportant islands of Andaman and Nicobar are situated). Recently, the largest maneuver so far, "Trishakti," took place on the West coast in which the aircraft carrier "Vikrant" participated and where large regions were occupied during the exercise. Whether this was intended as a hint for Sri Lanka or not--in Colombo the maneuver was understood that way, and new negotiation offers on the Tamil issue were quickly telegraphed to the North. Compared to 1985, when only paratroopers were moved from Agra to Trivandrum, "Trishakti" (Shakti is the goddess of strength) signals a heightened potential of military and political pressure.

Primarily, however, the Indian defense efforts are meant to maintain the effect of conventional deterrent. Only in this fashion can New Delhi continue its declared abstinence in the nuclear question (vis-a-vis Pakistan) and retain credibility as a regional hegemonic power. The Soviet Union is still first among weapons suppliers, but with decreasing importance. New Delhi wants to get away from close military ties; it wants to adopt much modern technology as soon as possible in order to then produce what its own armed forces need--and not have to adapt its defense strategy to the supply potential of other countries, as has been

frequently the case. In the past, the Soviet Union has offered favorable payment conditions, but New Delhi is not hiding the fact that the Soviet material was often of poor quality and that U.S. technology is frequently superior to that of the Soviets. It is said that Indian test pilots were bribed to accept Soviet transport planes of the type AN-32, although they performed at only 25 percent of the expected rate. Recently, two of these transport planes crashed in India. Negotiations about construction of a nuclear power station with a technology similar to that in Chernobyl will probably not be continued.

Despite some appearances, Indian foreign and defense policy has not changed under Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Relations with the United States cannot improve as long as Pakistan remains a potential enemy supported by the United States, obtaining the latest U.S. weapons. Pakistan has become more and more important to Washington after the "loss" of Iran and after the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, also because of its location at the Sea of Arabia and its access to the Persian Gulf. Therefore, Moscow remains an important partner for the leading nation among the uncommitted countries. But the confidentiality which existed between Indira Gandhi and Brezhnev, for example, is over; also, the Soviet ambassador in Delhi no longer calls on the prime minister every week. The latter, still a young man, does not feel particularly comfortable in Moscow; socialism holds little attraction for him and his advisers, trained managers and marketing experts. The United States are catching up, no matter how vehement the demonstrations at its embassy because of Libya. Chief of mission John Gunther Dean, who is of German extraction and has many years of experience in Southeast Asia (he was in Bangkok and took down the U.S. flag in Phnom Penh in 1985), frequently sees Rajiv Gandhi and is considered adept in the attempt to open up the Indian economy for supplies, investment and technology from the United States.

The Western education of the prime minister and his friends, the Italian wife--all that makes it somewhat easier today for the United States. The Russians have lost a bit of ground. The plan to again send long-retired diplomat T.N. "Tikki" Kaul as ambassador to Moscow (he had formerly served in Washington and Moscow) may be intended as reassurance to the partner there, just as changing the name of the think tank "Policy Planning Committee," directly answerable to the prime minister, to "Policy Advisory Committee" is meant to be. The head of the old and new organization with the rank of minister is G. Parthasarathy, who was a close adviser of Indira Gandhi and had to wait for 7 months for an appointment to talk with her son. Parthasarathy, a Tamil, who also played an important part in the negotiations with Sri Lanka, is considered a friend of Moscow.

A year ago there was still hope, but today one must come to the conclusion that no important changes in Indian foreign policy can be expected in the near future. True, relations with neighbors have become friendlier. Indira Gandhi was hated in Pakistan and feared as the protagonist of Indian hegemony in South Asia. The annexation of Sikkim caused uneasiness in the equally small country of Nepal. Rajiv Gandhi tried greater friendliness and openness, but was only successful in



Bangladesh, while the standstill in Sri Lanka is becoming ever more evident. China indicated that it can see improved relations only through getting its own way, without returning territory claimed by India.

Since the beginning of 1985, Indian foreign policy toward Pakistan has twice turned around. For an entire year, Rajiv Gandhi abstained from any criticism of the Pakistani nuclear program and the capability attributed to it by New Delhi of being able to build "the bomb" at practically any time. There was the meeting with President Zia last December, and conclusion of the non-aggression pact proposed by Pakistan, and the agreement on friendship and cooperation desired by the Indians, seemed to be tangibly close. A visit by Gandhi to Pakistan even before summer 1986 was announced in Islamabad. And then India again stepped back: the distrust of Zia remains; one does not know how stable the domestic situation of Pakistan is, or what Benazir Butto, for example, thinks about a non-aggression pact. And lastly, everything is overshadowed by the Indian conviction that Pakistan trains Sikh extremists in several camps near the border, provides them with arms, and then sends them back to the Punjab. So far, New Delhi has not presented proof; it would mean publishing the minutes of a police force well-known for its often brutal interrogation methods. But the magazine INDIA TODAY in its latest issue published material which evidently had been compiled with the help of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The extent of Pakistani "interference" will be debated (four training camps are mentioned, and the supply of revolvers and guns with night sight devices), and one can assume that Pakistan does not needle the powerful neighbor unnecessarily. On the other hand, the unrest in the Punjab is too tempting not to be exploited by a country whose eastern half (today's Bangladesh) was cut off by India in the 1971 war and against whom two wars were conducted from the "staging area" of the Punjab.

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CSO: 4620/44

INDIA

## NATION JOINS TITANIUM EXTRACTORS' LEAGUE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Apr 86 p 14

[Text]

HYDERABAD, April 27.

**I**NDIA today entered the elite company of nations possessing titanium metal extraction technology.

The vice-president, Mr. R. Venkataraman, inaugurated the technology development centres for titanium and magnesium set up at the Defence Metallurgical Research Laboratory at Kanchanbagh, near here, marking the event.

Only the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan, Britain and China have the know-how for extraction of titanium the youngest of the engineering metals. World production of the strategic metal was only 50 tonnes in 1950 and it rose to 1,20,000 tonnes by 1982-83.

A distinguished gathering of top scientists and engineers from far and near, including Dr. V. S. Arunachalam, scientific adviser to the defence minister, Dr. P. Rama Rao, director of DMRL, and Mr. R. B. Subramanyam, director of projects, DMRL, spoke on the occasion. They described the development of the indigenous technology to extract pure titanium sponge of acceptable standard from titanium tetrachloride, already being manufactured by the public sector Kerala Minerals and Metals Ltd., at Chavara. It is made from the huge deposits of mineral sands available on the western coast (Ilmenite and Rutile).

The titanium facility inaugurated by the vice-president is a development-cum-demonstration plant for the production of titanium sponge in 2,000 kg. batches.

### COMMERCIAL PLANT

Mr. Subramanyam said a commercial plant, for example, of 1,000 to 2,000 tonnes capacity could be set up by merely pluralising the equipment as designed at DMRL. In other words, there was no need to scale up technology or equipment for a commercial plant.

Mr. Venkataraman urged entrepreneurs and governmental agencies to exploit this indigenous technology for setting up large-scale titanium sponge production plants.

The vice-president noted that the Misra Dhatu Nigam (Midhani), the special alloy production plant of the defence ministry nearby, would not hereafter have to depend on imported sponge for production of titanium and its alloys in a variety of commercially required mill shapes such as sheets, bars and wire.

### POTENTIAL DEMAND

"The potential demand for titanium in our country is sufficient significant to merit serious attention, when one takes into account vast application areas like corrosion-resistant tubing for power plants, petro-chemical industries, off-shore drilling rigs, fertiliser plants that handle highly corrosive chemicals, paper and pulp industries that handle corrosive media, marine applications, defence aeronautical applications, not to mention other specialised areas of use like heart-valves," Mr. Venkataraman said.

The magnesium facility is a natural

must for titanium metal production, as the by-product, magnesium chloride, has to be recycled back to magnesium metal for captive consumption.

The Central Electro-Chemical Research Institute (CECRI) at Karaikudi in Tamil Nadu has helped set up two 30,000-ampere capacity cells, with a production capacity of 200 to 250 kg. magnesium per day.

The first supply of one tonne of titanium was sold to Midhani with its managing director, Mr. K. K. Sinha, receiving a token sample from Dr. Rama Rao in return for a cheque of Rs. 1 lakh. Similarly, the first supply of high purity titanium and magnesium from DMRL was received by Mr. K. Balaramamoorthy, chief executive of the nuclear fuel complex.

/12828

CSO: 4600/1706

INDIA

TALKS BEGIN WITH JAPAN ON SHARING SPACE TECHNOLOGY

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 17 Apr 86 p 7

[Text]

Tokyo, April 26 (PTI)—India and Japan have begun formal talks on cooperation in space technology.

Dr U R Rao, head of Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) and Secretary of the Department of Space, Government of India, is here heading a three-member delegation which in the past two days has held a series of negotiations with Japanese space authorities and high officials in the Ministry of Science and Technology.

Dr Rao said yesterday it was the first formal contact between India and Japan on matters of space, although in the past Indian and Japanese space scientists have met in their individual capacity.

Dr Rao said the present talks would seek to determine the kind of collaboration the two countries were prepared for and in what areas of space science and technology.

Dr Rao has invited the Japanese space authority to visit Indian space facilities and expects to receive a Japanese official space delegation in near future in continuation of the dialogue he had opened here two days ago.

Dr Rao said, "obviously, we can share our technologies with each other to mutual advantage, and we can help each other in tracking satellites wherever necessary".

Dr Rao and his colleagues came here on their way home after a visit to NASA in the US.

They had gone to the United States to discuss a new schedule for launching of India's next operational satellite. The launching was due in September this year, but it has been delayed because of grounding of all the US space shuttles after the shuttle challenger exploded within seconds of its liftoff on 29 January this year.

Dr Rao said he had long discussions with the NASA authorities and tried to impress on them that the Indian satellite should be given special priority as it must be sent aloft as early as possible to relieve the one in orbit of Mars of the extra duties it was now doing.

If necessary an 'expendable' vehicle, a rocket that is, may have to be used to launch the Indian satellite. In that event, Dr Rao said, the satellite will have to undergo some minor modification.

/12851

CSO: 4600/1705

INDIA

# REPORT SHOWS MONEY SUPPLY EXPANSION CONTAINED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 27 Apr 86 p. 5

[Text]

The lowest rate of inflation at 3.7 per cent in 1985-86 over the last four years by the economy was mainly because of a meticulous check exercised over monetary indicators, especially in the growth of money supply, reports PTI.

Analysis of figures provided by RBI shows that the growth of money supply in volume terms was Rs 15,192 crore which was Rs 886 crore lower than that of the previous year when money supply growth in volume terms was Rs 16,858 crore.

The percentage rate of growth of money supply during 1985-86 was also lower at 14.9 per cent, as compared to 18.7 per cent in the previous year.

A redeeming feature in the monetary development during 1985-86 was that despite higher net credit to government, the overall money supply expansion

was considerably slower as compared to the previous year.

Of the net bank credit to government amounting to Rs 9579 crore, more than 100 per cent was accounted for by the Centre as the States' had considerably reduced their indebtedness and had not borrowed from the RBI as a sequel to the abolition of the overdraft facility.

A disconcerting development during 1985-86 was the drop in the bank credit to commercial sector, including public enterprises, to only Rs 9,745 crore from a high of Rs 10,809 crore in the previous year, a reflecting credit squeeze.

The analysis also reveals that the net growth of foreign exchange assets of the banking sector was considerably slower at Rs 229 crore in 1985-86 from Rs 1419 crore in 1984-85.

/12851

CSO: 4600/1705

INDIA

BRIEFS

EDUCATION BOARD RECONSTITUTED--New Delhi, 27 Apr (PTI)--The government has reconstituted the central advisory board of education under the chairmanship of Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, minister of human resource development. Mrs Sushila Rohtagi, minister of state for education and culture, would be its vice-chairman. The board will now be composed of six Central ministers and education ministers of all states, according to an official release today. There would be six elected members of Parliament--four from the Lok Sabha and two from the Riya Sabha--one member of the Association of Indian Universities, one member of the All-India Council of Technical Education and one from the Medical Council of India. In addition, there would be seven ex-officio members and 31 nominated members, besides 15 permanent invitees, representing senior government officials. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Apr 86 p 6] /9274

CSO: 4600/1719



IRAN

REAGAN ATTACKED FOR 'THREATENING' IRAN, SYRIA

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 28 Apr 86 pp 16, 14

[Text] "There is a kind of game called Khersak. In this game the players draw a circle on the ground and one of the players stands inside the circle while other players who are moving around him try to hit this player who in turn throws kicks at them and whomever he hits has to replace him inside the circle. This kind of game is called Hajur in Arabic." Definition as quoted from Dahkhoda dictionary.

It seems in recent days Reagan's ruckus and rumpus as the leader of western-style gunslingers of the United States against the Islamic Republic and other nations who have risen up in protest of oppression, has intensified. Following the military attack on Libya, which according to the U.N. charter is considered one of the gravest international crimes [in the U.N. charter any armed aggression against countries which are members of the U.N. is considered a crime against peace and according to the same charter, a crime against peace is regarded as one of the gravest international crimes], the United States has begun a series of political propaganda and threats against the Islamic Republic of which Reagan himself is the chief stage director. Some of the propaganda politics which have been aimed against the Islamic Republic in recent days consist of the following.

1- Reagan has stated: If investigations indicate that Iran and Syria have had a hand in terrorist activities, the United States will not desist from attacking these two countries.

2- Some Iranians intended to smuggle two and a half billion dollars worth of weaponry out of the United States and Israel; however, their network was discovered.

3- An Iraqi POW who has been released by the Islamic Republic of Iran took part in a press conference in Saddam's embassy in Washington and discussed the mistreatment of the Iranian officials of the captive Iraqis. Following this interview, the United States State Department in an announcement expressed its concern about the situation of Iraqi prisoners of war in Iran.

Drawing assistance from the definition of the late Deh-Khoda regarding the game of "Khersak" which was mentioned at the very beginning of this article, it seems as if the Islamic Republic has placed the playful United States in the circle

and that Iran is going around and is hitting and knocking it about and it looks as if the United States is throwing kicks at all directions and Reagan and his clan are vainly supposing that it is going to his us somehow and thus drag us inside their own circle...! One wonders how any sensible man could make such allegations as the three statements which were mentioned above. Statements which are by any and all accounts comparable to the games of footloose or vagrant children. And as the great poet Saadi has stated: The game of Khersak belongs to children in the play-field alone. While here it would fit better is we rephrase the statement to suit Reagan and say: Only the very stupid play the game of Khersak in the play-field for grown-ups. In this political and propagandistic game-play the wild west gunslingers are quite unaware of the basic tenets of the Islamic religion which prohibits and rejects all terrorism in an absolute manner. Since in Islam the goal cannot justify the means and that an unsuitable or improper means for the execution of an expedient work is not deemed proper, therefore as far as the Islamic precept is concerned the use of terrorist activities is absolutely prohibited. For instance, when the followers of the eminent Moslem Ebn-e Aqil [who was an emissary of Imam Hoseyn] proposed to him that they can get rid of his enemy Ebn-e Ziyad by assassinating him in Kufa, he did not allow them to carry out their plot and told them that by Islamic precepts no terrorist action is permitted.

At this juncture, some superficial thinkers might say that if they had gotten rid of Ebn-e Ziyad, perhaps many of the incidents of Karbala could have been avoided! Now, according to the gunslinger Reagan, those people whose religion prohibits any act of terror are considered terrorists while he himself is nothing by a peace man! And it is for this purpose that before carrying out any terrorist act, Reagan dispatches his deputy and his other advisers to other countries to probe and prepare the international atmosphere for him and then acts himself as the judge and the executioner at the same time--exactly, comparable to any other terrorist organization--and states that if certain things are proven to him, he will militarily attack Iran!! Even in the history of the annals of wars of the most barbaric people who attacked the more civilized regions of their time, there has been no similar or comparably blatant admission of terrorism, threat and blackmail. Even Genghis Khan was more observant of the prevailing international regulations of the time than Reagan. For instance, at one time when the governor of the border town of Atrar, who was a relative of Kharazmshah [the ruling monarch], under some vague pretext killed all the members of a commercial delegation who represented Genghis Khan, the Mongol emperor instead of declaring a war, dispatched another delegation to seek reparation for the blood of the murdered individuals to Qot-beddin Mohammad Kharazmshah and after the member of the second delegation met the fate of the first delegation's members, the Mongol ruler began his own rampage. Now Genghis Khan has every right to quit or hand over his sword to Reagan and thank him for having surpassed him in his logic and aggressions.

Of course all the pertinent position-taking of the Islamic Republic deserved an answer to all Reagan's terrorist-induced atmosphere, however the illogical and unfounded claims of the United States seem to be necessary too, since the pharaohs of the time have to be challenged by the divine forces in order to have the circle completed.

Let's suppose that Reagan's allegations against other countries are all correct and as the United States has announced, a certain country has violated the international regulations; now we would like to ask that under which one of these regulations does Reagan's government allow itself to attack any one of those countries without referring his claims to the U.N. and making a mockery of the present century's civilization and taking us back to the time of Ural-Altaic barbaric tribes who attacked Iran several times or the time of the Romans who destroyed Carthage in 146 B.C. Throughout the centuries human history and civilization has taught us that in order to eradicate the war and aggression, any kind of one-sided military action for the purpose of resolving the existing disputes between various governments are to be condemned and the perpetrators of such action should be declared war criminals. Therefore, the United States' military aggression on other countries and its "premeditated military attack," according to the most basic international law, namely the U.N. charter, should be considered a crime against peace. And it is for this reason that such a criminal cannot and should not talk about international law and order, peace or any other pertinent matters which deal with the family of civilized nations.

The logic of Reaganism states that it will do whatever it deems is going to be in its interest and the only thing which it is not concerned about is the U.N. charter but the cooperation of its NATO partners and their servile followers of the third-world. Thus, the logic of Reaganism defines its political and military objectives.

Does anyone know of any terrorist group throughout history who had a different logic than that!? Our own nation, which was the victim of American terrorism for a whole generation during the reign of the shah and who in the process of revolution sacrificed all it had for a blind terrorism, knows quite well that all the roads of present day terrorism end in militarism. The same way that the fallen shah would follow the orders of the United States, the same way Israel, King Hoseyn, Saddam, all the racist rulers of Africa, the monarchists who reside in Paris and all the criminal hypocrites have been called together by the United States to act unilaterally. And accordingly it was no surprise when the little shah of Jordan divulged his political marriage to the hypocrites since all these people take their orders from the same source. Now that Reagan has put his threats into action, it seems quite appropriate for the supporters of international terrorism to hand over their cross insignia to this old murderer.

Of course the defiant nation of Iran who against the U.S. Khersak of the region, namely Saddam Hoseyn, has proven its capability, knows well how some vague allegations could form the basis for aggression. Is it not after his premeditated aggression on Iran, that Saddam Hoseyn, like Reagan's attack on Libya, has been claiming all the time that in order to thwart or forestall any probable Iranian attack, he was forced to invade Iran, while all the world knows that at the time when Saddam attacked Iran the Islamic Republic did not have any sizable military force stationed at the Iraqi borders, therefore we see that all the allegations of Saddam regarding the Iranian plan's attack on Iraq are quite comparable to those of his master, Reagan. Perhaps Saddam like his old master, Reagan and both

of them like Hitler believe that no one will call to account a victorious leader and that no one will question his war crimes. But the bitter reality is that a vanquished leader knows well that he ought to turn to any worthless or zany nin-compoop. And in the same way that Saddam presumes that his salvation is in the hands of Husein, the little king of Jordan, the inauspicious coptic ruler of Egypt [a play on words, since Mubarak means auspicious in Persian], or the helpless emirs of the Persian Gulf littoral states, in the same way Reagan resorts to such nonsensical or ludicrous statements such as the two and a half billion dollars smuggled arms deal or the observations of an Iraqi POW: A drowning man will catch at any straw. As the president of the Islamic Consultative Assembly stated, if it is possible to smuggle so many fighter bombers and troop carrier Hercules planes from the arsenals of the United States then what the hell are those people doing who are supposed to protect such arsenals?

Following the victories of the Islamic troops the merchants of death see a danger in their market since their own analysts [U.S.] have stated that the recent victories of Iran have shown that money and expensive weaponry cannot do much against the Iranian infantry which renders useless multi-million dollar tanks with simple hand-held weapons which are not worth more than a few hundred dollars. Here the propaganda system of the United States has come to the rescue of defeated Saddam and his disappointed supporters who have spent tens of billions of dollars on him, so that they say that the reason for the Iranians' victory is not the religion and belief of its combatants but that it is the American weaponry which has brought about this victory--the kind of weaponry which is still being smuggled into Iran.

If the people of the third-world nations only realize that for a true defense, modern weapons are not the sole factor which determine their fate, then the arms merchants will stand to lose a major market, therefore it is for this reason that through its spurious statements the United States is trying to show that market for the sale of armaments is still hot and necessary.

Yet, funnier that all this is the story of the United States government's announcement pertaining to the Iraqi POWs in Iran according to the statement of one of the Iraqi military captives who had been released from Iran and who, like a dancing cat has been put on show in various Saddam's embassies. If in reality the United States position-taking is based on the interview of a military individual who is obligated to follow his own country's military organs and who is at the mercy of his embassy personnel to be shifted wherever they see fit, then why does that superpower spend billions of dollars annually on its intelligence and information gathering system? It seems it is enough to rely on such statements alone! The truth of the matter is that the United States makes a statement, taking Saddam's interests in mind, so as to assure him of Reagan's support and keep the flow of support from Saddam's regional supporters continuing. The other side of the coin is that the United States feels so despicable that it deems it necessary to please Saddam and his supporters by relying on the words of a military individual who is a captive of his profession. It does not seem that Reagan's propaganda system has bothered to think for a moment that as far as good treatment of the captives by the Islamic Republic is concerned, it will only suffice to say that an



able-bodied and healthy military individual has been released before the end of the war while the release of all POWs is generally carried out after the advent of a cease fire. Right now, Reagan has risen in defense of the dirty deeds of Saddam and his hue and cry bespeak of his lack of respect throughout the world. According to the poet, Suzani Samarqandi, Reagan's stature is something like this: With the head of an ass, complexion of a bear and the character of a dog,  
The ass has been entrusted to carry a load of wine.

12719

CSO: 4640/291



IRAN

# WAR PROPAGANDA STAFF RESPONDS TO 'ARMS SMUGGLING' CONTROVERSY

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 1 May 86 p 19

[Text] Yesterday the supervisor of the war propaganda staff announced: The propagation of some fabricated or fictitious reports such as smuggling of weaponry from the United States to Iran with the help of retired Israeli military officers is a political-propaganda subterfuge by the United States government against Iran. He also said: With the Day of Qods [the Jerusalem's Day] getting ever closer and the predictable overwhelming welcome of the Islamic society of this day, we very well expect to face such reactions. However, it seems the enemy has begun its propagandistic activities much earlier than the previous years.

In a radio-TV press interview which was carried out yesterday afternoon, Dr Kamal Kharrazi as regards such enemy propaganda stated: The overt animosity of the Islamic revolution with imperialism and zionism is quite clear to the whole world today and the manifestation of such propaganda is but a betrayer of the ugly face of imperialism.

In another part of this interview, the supervisor of the war propaganda staff pointed to the propagation of other similar false and deceptive reports regarding the mistreatment of the Iraqi POWs by the Islamic Republic's officials, and while presenting a document he said: In certain cases it has been proven to us that some of the Iraqi POWs who are released from Iranian camps and are returned to Iraq never go back to their families.

In one specific case the family of a POW who was returned to Iraq continued to write letters for him through the International Red Cross several months after his release.

Thereafter, Dr Kharrazi stated: According to available documents, the Iraqi POWs have frequently asked the responsible officials for the formation of teaching classes, religious and non-religious books and publications, formation of prayer group and religious sessions which have all duly met with the approval of the pertinent Iranian officials.

Whereas, according to the reports of the Red Cross Organization and observations of the Iranian POWs, the Iraqi officials have been reluctant to put the least accommodating means at the disposal of our POWs for carrying out or exercising their religious obligations. Through the imposition of various limitations,

the responsible Iraqi officials deprive the Iranian POWs of even the most basic necessities.

He further said: The captive Iranian combatants from the first moment of their captivity are being physically and mentally tortured and there is no trace of health and treatment facilities in their camps. In addition, the Iranian POWs are psychologically tormented or tantalized through broadcasting of very loud music or showing of unethical movies throughout the day of which we have been informed by an Iraqi POW who has provided the responsible officials of the Islamic Republic with such information.

As regards the situation of the lost combatants of the imposed war, Dr Kharrazi said: In addition to those Iranian combatants who have become captive in Iraq, we've about 20,000 unaccounted-for or lost combatants of whom a few thousands have been identified by the Iraqi mass-media and press.

The Iraqi regime has so far desisted from publishing the names of these individuals or making proper arrangements for them to meet with the Red Cross representatives. The most famous individual amongst these captives is Mr Tondguyan, the oil minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Also Mr Yahyavi Bushehri and a physician called Kak-Rudi are other two famous captives in Iraq.

Once Dr Bushehri was identified by the Iraqi minister of works and social affairs who announced his verification to the International Labor Commission in Geneva; however, when the wife of Dr Bushehri tried to obtain some information about his whereabouts, the Iraqi officials claimed that they did not have anybody by that name among the Iranian captives. Furthermore, the director of the International Red Cross Organization has written that in their search they have not been able to find any trace of the said doctor.

He went on to say: Even the Ba'thist regime of Iraq denies the fact of the captivity of many of the individuals who are identified by their families through their pictures either in the press or by television news stories.

Dr Kharrazi further added: According to certain undeniable evidence, 400 Iranian captives are detained in a prison called "Abu Gharib" and the government of Iraq flatly denies the matter.

He said we insist on our decision pertaining to the immediate release of the sick or the invalid POWs from both sides--or even other captives held by both countries--but the Iraqi government always evades the issue.

Thereafter, the supervisor of the War Propaganda Staff answered the questions which were put to him by the correspondents.

In response to a question from one of the correspondents who asked about the trip of Taha Yasin Ramadan [1st deputy prime minister of Iraq] to Moscow, he said: When the trip of Saddam's person to Moscow could not save the Ba'thist

regime, the visit of Taha Yasin Ramadan most certainly will not have any serious effect either. Of course there are some indications that the Soviet Union is planning to shift to new policies in the region. What is sure is that the Soviet Union would not like to see that the transformation of the regional situations end up to its own disadvantage.

He further said: Right now one cannot say that the execution of this policy will benefit which country, however it seems quite certain that the results of the execution of such a policy throughout the region ought to be investigated.

As regards the presence of the American fleet in our country's southern waters, he said: The presence of American naval forces in the international waters is nothing new. Our posture is quite clear regarding such threats. We all witnessed how an unstudied threat by Reagan towards Iran caused him to be duly corrected by all the officials of his government.

The United States knows well that it cannot offer any resistance to the movement of the Iranian nation.

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CSO: 4640/292

IRAN

**BROAD ALLIANCE FORMING AGAINST 'DESPOTISM'**

Paris LE MONDE in French 2 May 86 p 3

[Article by Jean Guéras]

[Text] The legal opposition to the Islamic regime in Tehran was restructured in late March with the formation of a very large organization that includes most of the familiar liberal figures known for their religious or nationalist leanings. The new body, known as the "Alliance to Protect the liberties and sovereignty of the Iranian Nation," emerged at the conclusion of a national congress, also held openly in Tehran without the slightest interference from the authorities. The word in some circles in the Iranian capital has it that the relative indulgence on the government's part toward that gathering was the result of discreet intervention by the Ayatollah Montazeri, the Imam's designated successor, who has never made a secret of his sympathy for the liberals.

The Central Council of the new alliance includes most of the top leaders of the Iranian Liberation Movement, headed by Mehdi Bazargan, who was provisional head of government under Imam Khomeiny immediately after the revolution and who belongs to the Islamic Seraglio, of which he was one of the founding fathers.

In second place are representatives of the now-defunct Mossadeghi National Front (named for the ex-prime minister), including Ali Ardalan, who was finance minister immediately after the revolution, and Assodallah Moubacheri, who served as justice minister in Bazargan's cabinet. Also members of the alliance are several independent figures, including former petroleum minister Moinfar and information minister Minatchi.

The manifesto issued at the inception of the new alliance affirms the supremacy of the concept of the "Sovereignty of the Iranian Nation" above all other considerations, and emphatically states that it can never be monopolized by any group whatever.

"To fail to honor national sovereignty" says the manifesto, "is to open the gates to despotism. That is a transparent reference to the "velayat Faghi" principle, which vests intangible political rights in the Imam."

The document's signers add that the Constitution of the Islamic Republic, "despite all its flaws and inconsistencies," is a charter accepted by all, and it commits the government "to respect the people's rights and freedoms."

"The country," they add, is currently in a troubled situation because the authorities who govern us have ceased to uphold national sovereignty and civil rights."

Lastly, with regard to the war with Iraq, the manifesto argues that the occupation of Fao by Iranian troops has created a propitious occasion for peace negotiations designed to put an end, once and for all, to a conflict "which cannot be settled at the military level."

"Continuation of the war," it says, "is a snare before our feet and will eventually serve the purposes of the great powers and of Israel, and theirs alone."

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IRAN

BRIEFS

ENVOY REPORTEDLY COMMITS SUICIDE--Tehran, 3 May (TANJUG)--Mohammad Taqi Mohammadi [spelling as received], Charge D'affaires of the Iranian embassy in Afghanistan against whom a judicial investigation has been launched, has committed suicide in a Tehran prison, the RESALAT daily writes. He seized the opportunity to commit the act during the investigation when the prison guard was inattentive, the daily says. The TEHRAN DAILY says that Taqi Mohammadi was recently arrested with a group of former government officials in connection with the bomb planting in the Iranian Government building five years ago. The explosion took the lives of President Raja'i, prime minister Bahonar and Chief of Police Dastd Gerdi. The RESALAT daily writes that after an investigation of five years by the Tehran's Islamic revolutionary prosecutor, this "case" has now entered "the final stage." [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 3 May 86 LD]

ADVANCE NEAR FAW-- Iran announced on 29 April that its troops had advanced 2 kilometers at the southern end of the front, on the Iraqi peninsula of Fao, killing or wounding more than 4,000 men in the enemy ranks. According to the Iranian news agency, IRNA, that push along the road linking Fao with the village of Bassora, some hundred kilometers away, has now been halted and "the general offensive has yet to begin." In Baghdad, reports say that the Iranian offensive has been "driven back" by aircraft and heavy artillery. The Iraqi news agency INA, while not mentioning losses, denied that the Iranians had made a breakthrough. In Paris, the Iraqi ambassador, Sadek el Maschat, opined that it was "normal" for France to move closer to Iran, "provided that this move does not adversely affect the priceless and long-standing friendship between Paris and Baghdad. On the other hand, should that renewal of friendship mean sales of French arms to Iran, "it would cause very serious repercussions on our relations would be very grave," the diplomat said on Tuesday in the course of a news conference. [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 2 May 86 p 3] 6182.

CSO: 4619/38

PAKISTAN

PUNJAB PPP SAID CONDUCTING ENQUIRY AGAINST KHAR

Karachi DAWN in English 29 Apr 86 p 12

[Text]

SAHIWAL, April 28: Ms Benazir Bhutto, the Acting Chairperson of PPP, has disclosed that a committee of Punjab PPP is busy inquiring against the former Governor, Ghulam Mustafa Khar regarding his alleged involvement in a conspiracy with the Government against PPP.

Addressing a press conference she further said that meanwhile the membership of Mr Khar remains suspended.

Replying to another question she said PPP's high command has not received any application for leave from Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi.

She said the elections of Sind PPP are being conducted under a phased programme. Similarly the party elections of other provinces will be held in the same manner.

Ms Benazir claimed herself to be the elected head of her party as she was elected by the Central Committee of the Party.

The PPP Acting Chairperson denied that she had any meeting with the members of opposition parliamentary group or she tried to contact them.

Ms Bhutto, has said that parliament and the peoples will decide about the action against the excesses committed during the martial law regime and she does not intend to take revenge from any body.

Ms Benazir said after coming into power her party will pursue an independent foreign policy and will not involve the country in super powers rivalries.

She said that PPP will set up a system under which the issue of provincial autonomy will be solved automatically. Her party has already chalked out its line of action in this regard, she added.

The PPP leader said her party will provide full protection to the private sector side by side protecting the rights of the workers.—PPI

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PAKISTAN

## MEETING LAUDS ZIA'S 'SERVICES TO DEMOCRACY'

Karachi DAWN in English 30 Apr 86 p 3

[Text] RAWALPINDI, April 29: President General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq's great services to the nation and the country in the enforcement of Islamic order in Pakistan and restoration of democracy were lauded at a large gathering of old and distinguished workers of the Pakistan Movement here on Monday.

The meeting arranged by Mr Mohammad Basharat Raja, Chairman of the Rawalpindi District Council, was addressed by Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain, Minister of State for Labour. Rai Mansab Ali Khan, former Federal Labour Minister, Mr Ghulam Dastgir Khan, Pakistan's Ambassador to Egypt, Raja Mohammad Zafarul Haq and several old guards of the Pakistan Muslim League.

Speaking on the occasion, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain said that President Zia-ul-Haq's contributions to strengthen the democratic institutions has helped put the nation's destiny on sound keel.

The nation, he added, would never forget his services the way he transferred power from Martial Law to a civilian Government.

Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain said Prime Minister Junejo was making best efforts to strengthen the democratic institutions.

He said that the nation was fully aware of the evil designs of the disgruntled elements to destabilise the country. The people of Pakistan would thwart their designs and never allow their attempts to be successful.

Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain said slogans have never changed the governments. The present Assemblies have been elected through fair and impartial elections and were to complete their term under the Constitution.

It will be in the national interest that they completed their tenure.

It would be up to the Government to decide as to when elections were to be ordered on the completion of its tenure.

He said the sane elements of the society deprecated these attempts and hoped that the PPP leadership would refrain from creating such precedents.

He said the membership campaign of the Pakistan Muslim League has been started at the grass-root level and the response was massive.

Rai Mansab Ali Khan, Minister of State for Labour said that the Government was determined to play its innings till the end. It would not succumb to dirty tactics.

He said the present Government has embarked on a massive public welfare programme and was determined to implement it during its tenure of office.

He was critical of the abusive language being used at the PPP gatherings. From the tone and tenor of their slogans it was not difficult to judge as to what sort of politics they wanted to do in the country.

He said there was no cause for any concern as the vast multitude of the patriotic Pakistanis were alive to their role to safeguard the ideological and geographical frontiers of Pakistan.

PAKISTAN

OFFICIAL STATUS FOR PUNJABI DEMANDED

Karachi DAWN in English 30 Apr 86 p 2

[Text]

LAHORE, April 29: The four-day World Punjabi Conference which concluded on Monday has demanded official language status for Punjabi and all other regional languages of the country.

A declaration issued on Tuesday expressed solidarity with the modern and revolutionary writers and poets of Afghanistan who had been using the written word as a weapon against the war imposed on "revolutionary Afghanistan" by American imperialists.

The conference dubbed the December 1984 Referendum a fraud and the partyless elections a farce. The liberties the people of Pakistan today enjoy were given to them after their brave struggle against the rulers, it added.

Resolutions: The conference strongly condemned the American aggression on Libya and denial of permission to the Indian writers to come to Pakistan to participate in the conference.

Through various resolutions, the conference also demanded release of all political detainees including Mr Rasool Bux Palerojo, Jam Saqi

and Fazil Rahu, reinstatement of ten journalists dismissed by the NPT papers for demanding restoration of democracy, withdrawal of the ban on some newspapers and journals and reopening of the Shah Hussain College.

The deaths of Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Ustad Daman, Masood Khaddarposh, Dr Nazir Ahmed, Muhammad Hanif, Syed Sibte Hassan and Mushtaq Hashmi were condoled.

The next World Punjabi Conference will be held after two years and a 25-member convening committee has been constituted for this purpose.

A major part of Pakistan's resources was spent on defence because of imperialist pressure and the armed forces and the rulers had assumed the duty of safeguarding the forces of exploitation and thus were crushing their own people. The declaration added the war against neighbours, usurpation of the rights of the people, genocide and the threat to world peace should be subjects worthy of the immediate attention of the Punjab writers.

**BENAZIR SAYS PPP 'TO ADOPT MIXED ECONOMY'**

Karachi DAWN in English 30 Apr 86 p 10

[Text]

SAHIWAL, April 29: Ms Benazir Bhutto, acting Chairperson, PPP, while addressing a Press conference here on Monday said that on coming into power the PPP would adopt mixed economy instead of Socialist economy and would not nationalise rice husking, cotton ginning and small industrial units because "we don't want to turn any class against the people's government."

She remarked that in China, Soviet Union and other Socialist countries people were being given incentives so that the governments should remain stable and no conspiracy against their representatives could be hatched.

Ms Bhutto revealed that PPP will act upon a three-point charter having a programme of decentralisation, regularisation, and non-aligned foreign policy. "If we involve ourselves in Superpower confrontation, we will not be able to survive and our sovereignty and independence will be at stake", she added.

She said we believe in the moral victory of the people as they were the decisive force in every society, "We don't want to enter into any confrontation but we want to establish harmony among all the classes of Pakistan" she added.

She elaborated that the party would struggle for press freedom and for achievement of democratic social setup. She remarked martial law was imposed by General Zia to victimise the oppressed people

who had faced oppression since the formation of the country in general and in the martial law era in particular.

Answering a question Ms Bhutto pointed out our country had no permanent friends but "we have permanent interest" she added. "We also support the rights of smaller provinces which were denied to them from a very long period and this deprivation may lead to disastrous situation."

She said those elements who have been ousted from the party will not be allowed to rejoin the PPP because they were the black sheep. As regards the fresh poll Ms Bhutto urged the regime to announce a date for holding fresh polls under the 1973 Constitution on party basis.

On a question the PPP Chairperson stated that the nation was shocked to observe that Gen Zia could not find any individual during his nine years to hand over the office of Chief of Army Staff.

"I salute the people for getting martial law lifted by sacrificing their souls for this great cause" she went on saying.

Furthermore the PPP acting Chairperson paid rich tributes to all the political activists, students, labourers, mediamen, lawyers and haris for struggling against a despotic regime under the banner of MRD. Ms. Bhutto strongly urged the regime to release all political detenus forthwith and withdrawn all cases instituted against them.

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PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

PML SECRETARY--Lahore, April 29--Raja Zafarul Haq, a former Minister for Information and Broadcasting and at present the Pakistan Ambassador in Egypt, is being tipped as the Secretary-General of the Pakistan Muslim League. A decision to nominate Raja Zafarul Haq, who is currently in the country, is expected within the next few days. Raja Zafarul Haq lost to the present Minister for Production, Mr. Khaqan Abbasi, in the 1985 national elections. He was later appointed ambassador to Egypt. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 30 Apr 86 p 2]/12828

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